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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

Done in Convention, Dec. 24, 1860.

THE State of South Carolina having determined to resume her separate and equal place among nations, deems it due to herself, to the remaining United States of North America, and to the nations of the world, that she should declare the causes which have led to this act.

In the year 1775, that portion of the British Empire embracing Great Britain undertook to make laws for the government of that portion composed of the thirteen American Colonies. A struggle for the right of self-government ensued, which resulted on the 4th of July, 1776, in a Declaration by the Colonies "that they are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, and that as free and independent States they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

They further solemnly declared that whenever any "form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government." Deeming the government of Great Britain to have become destructive of these ends, they declared that the Colonies "are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the States of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

In pursuance of this Declaration of Independence, each of the thirteen States proceeded to exercise its separate sovereignty; adopted for itself a Constitution and appointed officers for the administration of government in all its departments—legislative, executive, and judicial. For purposes of defence, they united their arms and their counsels; and, in 1778, they entered into a league known as the Articles of Confederation, whereby they agreed to entrust the administration of their external relations to a common agent, known as the Congress of the United States, expressly declaring, in the first article, "that each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not, by this confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

Under this confederation the war of the Revolution was carried on, and on the 3d of September, 1783, the contest ended, and a definite treaty was signed by Great Britain, in which she acknowledged the independence of the Colonies in the following terms:

ARTICLE 1.—His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent States; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof.

Thus was established the two great principles asserted by the colonies, namely, the right of a State to govern itself, and the right of a people to abolish a government when it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted. And concurrent with the establishment of these principles was the fact that each colony became and was recognized by the mother country as a free, sovereign, and independent State.

In 1787, deputies were appointed by the States to revise the Articles of Confederation, and on 17th September, 1787, these deputies recommended for the adoption of the States the articles of union known as the Constitution of the United States.

The parties to whom this Constitution was submitted were the several sovereign States. They were to agree or disagree; and when nine of them agreed, the compact was to take effect among those concurring, and the general government, as the common agent, was then to be invested with their authority.

If only nine of the thirteen States had concurred, the other four would have remained as they then were—separate, sovereign States, independent of any of the provisions of the Constitution. In fact, two of the States did not accede to the Constitution until long after it had gone into operation among the other eleven, and during that interval they exercised the functions of an independent nation.

By this Constitution, certain duties were charged on the several States, and the exercise of certain of their powers restrained, which necessarily implied their continued existence as sovereign States. But, to remove all doubt, an amendment was added, which declared that the powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. On 23d May, 1788, South Carolina, by a Convention of her people, passed an Ordinance assenting to this Constitution, and afterward altered her own Constitution, to conform herself to the obligations she had undertaken.

Thus was established, by compact between the States, a government, with defined objects and powers, limited to the express words of the grant, and to so much more only as was necessary to execute the power granted. This limitation left the whole remaining mass of power subject to the clause reserving it to the States or to the people, and rendered unnecessary any specification of reserved rights.

We hold that the government thus established is subject to the two great principles asserted in the Declaration of Independence, and we hold further that the mode of its formation subjects it to a third fundamental principle—namely, the law of compact. We maintain that in every compact between two or more parties the obligation is mutual—that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement entirely releases the obligations of the other, and that, where no arbiter is provided, each party is remitted to his own judgment to determine the fact of failure with all its consequences.

In the present case that fact is established with certainty. We assert that fifteen of the States have deliberately refused for years past to fulfil their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own statutes for the proof.

The Constitution of the United States, in its 4th article, provides as follows:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This stipulation was so material to the compact, that without it that compact would not have been made. The greater number of the contracting parties held slaves, and the State of Virginia had previously declared her estimate of its value by making it the condition of her cession of the territory which now composes the States north of the Ohio river.

The same article of the Constitution stipulates also, for the rendition by the several States of fugitives from justice from the other States.

The general government, as the common agent, passed laws to carry into effect these stipulations of the States. For many years these laws were executed. But an increasing hostility on the part of the Northern States to the institution of slavery, has led to a disregard of their obligations, and the laws of the general government have ceased to effect the objects of the Constitution. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa have enacted laws which either nullify the acts of Congress, or render useless any attempt to execute them. In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from the service or labor claimed, and in none of them has the State government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution. The State of New Jersey, at an early day, passed a law for the rendition of fugitive slaves in comformity with her constitutional undertaking; but the current of anti-slavery feeling has led her more recently to enact laws which render inoperative the remedies provided by her own law and by the laws of Congress. In the State of New York even, the right of transit for a slave has been denied by her tribunals, and the States of Ohio and Iowa have refused to surrender to justice fugitives charged with murder and with inciting servile insurrection in the State of Virginia. Thus the constitutional compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States, and the consequence follows that South Carolina is released from its obligations.

The ends for which this Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, protect the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

These ends it endeavored to accomplish by a Federal government, in which each State was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized, by giving to free persons distinct political rights; by giving them the right to represent, and burdening them with direct taxes for three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years, and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor.

We affirm that those ends for which this government was instituted have been defeated, and the government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions, and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States, and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies, whose avowed object is to disturb the peace, and to endanger the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes, and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, books, and pictures, to servile insurrection.

For seventy-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common government. Observing the forms of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the Executive Department the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common government, because he has declared that that "government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free," and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

This sectional combination for the subversion of the Constitution has been aided in some of the States, by elevating to citizenship persons who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens, and their votes have been used to inaugurate a new policy hostile to the South, and destructive of its peace and safety.

On the 4th of March next this party will take possession of the government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory; that the judicial tribunals shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.

The guaranties of the Constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government or self-protection, and the Federal government will have become their enemies.

Sectional interest and animosity will deepen the irritation, and all hope of remedy is rendered vain by the fact, that public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanctions of a more erroneous religious belief.

We, therefore, the people of South Carolina, by our delegates in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a free, sovereign, and independent State, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

THE ADDRESS OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ASSEMBLED IN CONVENTION, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Extract.]

The Constitution of the United States was an experiment. The experiment consisted in uniting under one government different peoples, living in different climates, and having different pursuits of industry and institutions. It matters not how carefully the limitations of such a government be laid down in the Constitution—its success must at least depend upon the good faith of the parties to the constitutional compact in enforcing them. It is not in the power of human language to exclude false inferences, constructions and perversions, in any constitution; and, when vast sectional interests are to be subserved, involving the appropriation of countless millions of money, it has not been the usual experience of mankind that words on parchment can arrest power. The Constitution of the United States, irrespective of the interposition of the States, rested on the assumption that power would yield to faith—that integrity would be stronger than interest, and that thus the limitations of the Constitution would be observed. The experiment has been fairly made. The Southern States, from the commencement of the government, have striven to keep it within the orbit prescribed by the Constitution. The experiment has failed. The whole Constitution, by the constructions of the Northern people, has been swallowed up by a few words in its preamble. In their reckless lust for power they seem unable to comprehend that seeming paradox, that the more power is given to the general government the weaker it becomes. Its strength consists in its generality and limitations. To extend the scope of its power over sectional or local interests, is to raise up against it opposition and resistance. In all such matters the general government must necessarily be a despotism, because all sectional or local interests must ever be represented by a minority in the councils of the general government—having no power to protect itself against the rule of the majority. The majority, constituted from those who do not represent these sectional or local interests, will control and govern them. A free people cannot submit to such a government; and the more it enlarges the sphere of its power, the greater must be the dissatisfaction it must produce, and the weaker it must become. On the contrary, the more it abstains from usurped powers, and the more faithfully it adheres to the limitations of the Constitution, the stronger it is made. The Northern people have had neither the wisdom nor the faith to perceive that to observe the limitations of the Constitution was the only way to its perpetuity.

Under such a government there must, of course, be many and endless "irrepressible conflicts," between the two great sections of the Union. The same faithlessness which has abolished the Constitution of the United States will not fail to carry out the sectional purposes for which it has been abolished. There must be conflict; and the weaker section of the Union can only find peace and liberty in an independence of the North. The repeated efforts made by South Carolina, in a wise conservatism, to arrest the progress of the general government in its fatal progress to consolidation, have been unsupported and denounced as faithless to the obligations of the Constitution by the very men and States who were destroying it by their usurpations. It is now too late to reform or restore the government of the United States. All confidence in the North is lost in the South. The faithlessness of half a century has opened a gulf of separation between them which no promises or engagements can fill.

It cannot be believed that our ancestors would have assented to any union whatever with the people of the North, if the feelings and opinions now existing among them had existed when the Constitution was framed. There was then no tariff—no negro fanaticism. It was the delegates from New England who proposed, in the Convention which framed the Constitution, to the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia, that if they would agree to give Congress the power of regulating commerce by a majority, that they would support the extension of the African slave trade for twenty years. African slavery existed in all the States but one. The idea that they would be made to pay that tribute to their Northern confederates which they had refused to pay to Great Britain, or that the institution of African slavery would be made the grand basis of a sectional organization of the North to rule the South, never crossed their imagination. The Union of the Constitution was a Union of slaveholding States. It rests on slavery, by prescribing a representation in Congress for three-fifths of our slaves. There is nothing in the proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution to show that the Southern States would have formed any other Union; and still less that they would have formed a Union with more powerful non-slaveholding States, having a majority in both branches of the Legislature of the government. They were guilty of no such folly. Time and the progress of things have totally altered the relations between the Northern and Southern States since the Union was first established. That identity of feeling, interests and institutions which once existed, is gone. They are now divided between agricultural and manufacturing and commercial States—between slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. Their institutions and industrial pursuits have made them totally different peoples. That equality in the government between the two sections of the Union, which once existed, no longer exists. We but imitate the policy of our fathers in dissolving a Union with non-slaveholding confederates, and seeking a confederation with slaveholding States.

Experience has proved that slaveholding States cannot be safe in subjection to non-slaveholding States. Indeed, no people ever expect to preserve their rights and liberties unless they are in their own custody. To plunder and oppress, where plunder and oppression can be practised with impunity, seems to be the natural order of things. The fairest portions of the world have been turned into wildernesses, and the most civilized and prosperous communities have been impoverished and ruined by anti-slavery fanaticism. The people of the North have not left us in doubt as to their designs and policy. United as a section in the late Presidential election, they have elected as the exponent of their policy one who has openly declared that all the States of the United States must be made free States or slave States. It is true that among those who aided in this election, there are various shades of anti-slavery hostility. But if African slavery in the Southern States be the evil their political combinations affirm it to be, the requisitions of an inexorable logic must lead them to emancipation. If it is right to preclude or abolish slavery in a Territory, why should it be allowed to remain in the States? The one is not at all more unconstitutional than the other, according to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. And when it is considered that the Northern States will soon have the power to make that Court what they please, and that the Constitution never has been any barrier whatever to their exercise of power, what check can there be in the unrestrained counsels of the North to emancipation? There is sympathy in association, which carries men along without principle; but when there is principle, and that principle is fortified by long existing prejudices and feelings, association is omnipotent in party influences. In spite of all disclaimers and professions, there can be but one end to the submission by the South to the rule of a sectional anti-slavery government at Washington; and that end, directly or indirectly, must be the emancipation of the slaves of the South. The hypocrisy of thirty years—the faithlessness of their whole course from the commencement of our union with them—show that the people of the non-slaveholding North are not and cannot be safe associates of the slaveholding South under a common government. Not only their fanaticism, but their erroneous views of the principles of free governments, render it doubtful whether, separated from the South, they can maintain a free government among themselves. Brute numbers with them is the great element of free government. A majority is infallible and omnipotent. "The right divine to rule in kings" is only transferred to their majority. The very object of all constitutions, in free, popular governments, is to restrain the majority. Constitutions, therefore, according to their theory, must be most unrighteous inventions, restricting liberty. None ought to exist, but the body politic ought simply to have a political organization, to bring out and enforce the will of a majority. This theory may be harmless in a small community, having an identity of interests and pursuits, but over a vast State—still more, over a vast Confederacy, having various and conflicting interests and pursuits—it is a remorseless despotism. In resisting it, as applicable to ourselves, we are vindicating the great cause of free government, more important, perhaps, to the world than the existence of the United States. Nor, in resisting it, do we intend to depart from the safe instrumentality the system of government we have established with them requires. In separating from them we invade no rights, no interests of theirs. We violate no obligation of duty to them. As separate, independent States in Convention, we made the Constitution of the United States with them; and as separate, independent States, each State acting for itself, we adopted it. South Carolina, acting in her sovereign capacity, now thinks proper to secede from the Union. She did not part with her sovereignty in adopting the Constitution. The last thing a State can be presumed to have surrendered is her sovereignty. Her sovereignty is her life. Nothing but a clear, express grant can alienate it. Inference should be dumb. Yet it is not at all surprising that those who have construed away all the limitations of the Constitution should also, by construction, claim the annihilation of the sovereignty of the States. Having abolished all barriers to their omnipotence by their faithless constructions in the operations of the general government, it is most natural that they should endeavor to do the same toward us in the States. The truth is, they having violated the express provisions of the Constitution, it is at an end as a compact. It is morally obligatory only on those who choose to accept its perverted terms. South Carolina, deeming the compact not only violated in particular features, but virtually abolished by her Northern confederates, withdraws herself as a party from its obligations. The right to do so is denied by her Northern confederates. They desire to establish a despotism, not only omnipotent in Congress, but omnipotent over the States; and as if to manifest the imperious necessity of our secession, they threaten us with the sword, to coerce submission to their rule.

Citizens of the slaveholding States of the United States, circumstances beyond our control have placed us in the van of the great controversy between the Northern and Southern States. We would have preferred that other States should have assumed the position we now occupy. Independent ourselves, we disclaim any design or desire to lead the councils of the other Southern States. Providence has cast our lot together by extending over us an identity of pursuits, interests, and institutions. South Carolina desires no destiny separated from yours. To be one of a great slaveholding confederacy, stretching its arms over a territory larger than any Power in Europe possesses—with population four times greater than that of the whole United States when they achieved their independence of the British empire—with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people inhabiting it—with common institutions to defend, and common dangers to encounter—we ask your sympathy and confederation. While constituting a portion of the United States, it has been your statesmanship which has guided it in its mighty strides to power and expansion. In the field, as in the cabinet, you have led the way to its renown and grandeur. You have loved the Union, in whose service your great statesmen have labored, and your great soldiers have fought and conquered, not for the material benefits it conferred, but with the faith of a generous and devoted chivalry. You have long lingered and hoped over the shattered remains of a broken Constitution. Compromise after compromise, formed by your concessions, has been trampled under foot by your Northern confederates. All fraternity of feeling between the North and the South is lost, or has been converted into hate; and we of the South are at last driven together by the stern destiny which controls the existence of nations. Your bitter experience of the faithlessness and rapacity of your Northern confederates may have been necessary to evolve those great principles of free government, upon which the liberties of the world depend, and to prepare you for the grand mission of vindicating and reestablishing them. We rejoice that other nations should be satisfied with their institutions. Self-complacency is a great element of happiness, with nations as with individuals. We are satisfied with ours. If they prefer a system of industry in which capital and labor are in perpetual conflict—and chronic starvation keeps down the natural increase of population—and a man is worked out in eight years—and the law ordains that children shall be worked only ten hours a day—and the sabre and bayonet are the instruments of order—be it so. It is their affair, not ours. We prefer, however, our system of industry, by which labor and capital are identified in interest, and capital, therefore, protects labor, by which our population doubles every twenty years; by which starvation is unknown, and abundance crowns the land; by which order is preserved by an unpaid police, and the most fertile regions of the world, where the Caucasian cannot labor, are brought into usefulness by the labor of the African, and the whole world is blessed by our own productions. All we demand of other peoples is, to be let alone to work out our own high destinies. United together, and we must be the most independent, as we are the most important among the nations of the world. United together, and we require no other instrument to conquer peace than our beneficent productions. United together, and we must be a great, free and prosperous people, whose renown must spread throughout the civilized world, and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages. We ask you to join us in forming a confederacy of slaveholding States.

Selections.

VOICES OF THE TRUE-HEARTED.

From a Thanksgiving Sermon, by Rev. W. H. FURNESS.

BUT the trouble cannot be escaped. It must come. But we can put it off. By annihilating free speech; by forbidding the utterance of a word in the pulpit and by the press for the rights of man; by hurling back into the jaws of oppression the fugitive gasping for his sacred liberty; by recognizing the right of one man to buy and sell other men; by spreading the blasting curse of despotism over the whole soil of the nation, you may allay the brutal frenzy of a handful of Southern slave-masters; you may win back the cotton States to cease from threatening you with secession and to plant their feet upon your necks, and so evade the trouble that now menaces us. Then you may live on the few years that are left you, and perhaps, it is not certain, we may be permitted to make a little more money and die in our beds. But no, friends, I am mistaken. We cannot put the trouble off. Or we put it off in its present shape, only that it may take another and more terrible form. If, to get rid of the present alarm, we concede all that makes it worth while to live, and nothing less will avail, perhaps those who can deliberately make such a concession will not feel the degradation, but, stript of all honor and manhood, they may eat as heartily and sleep as soundly as ever. But the degradation is not the less but the greater for our unconsciousness of it. The trouble which we shall then bring upon ourselves, is a trouble in comparison with which the loss of all things but honor is a glorious gain, and a violent death for right's sake on the scaffold or by the hands of a mob, peace, and joy, and victory.

Since we are thus placed and there is no alternative for us of the free States but to meet the trouble that is upon us, or by base concessions and compromises to bring upon ourselves a far greater trouble, in the name of God, let us let all things go, and cleave to the right. Prepared to confront the crisis like men, let us, with all possible calmness, endeavor to take the measure of the calamity that we dread. God knows I have no desire to make light of it. But I affirm that never, since the world began, was there a grander cause for which to speak, to suffer and to die than the cause of these free States, as against that of the States now rushing upon secession. The great grievance of which they complain is nothing more nor less than this: that we endanger the right they claim, to treat human beings as beasts of burden. And they maintain this monstrous claim by measures as inhuman and barbarous, listening not to the voice of reason or humanity, but treating every man who goes among them, suspected of not favoring their cause, or of the remotest connection with others who do not favor it, with a most savage and fiendish cruelty. It is the conflict between barbarism and civilization, between liberty and the most horrible despotism that ever cursed this earth, in which we are called to take part. And all that is great and noble in the past, all the patriots and martyrs that have suffered in man's behalf, all the sacred instincts and hopes of the human soul are on our side, and the welfare of untold generations of men. Oh, if God, in his infinite bounty, grants us the grace to appreciate the transcendent worth of the cause which is now at stake, there is no trouble that can befall us, no, not the loss of property, of idolized parents or children, or life itself that we shall not count a blessed privilege. To serve this dear cause of Peace, and Liberty, and Love, we have no need to grasp the sword or any instrument of violence and death. But we must be ready without flinching to confront the utmost that men can do, and, amidst all the uproar and violence of human passions, still calmly to assert and to exercise our sacred and inalienable liberties, let who will frown and forbid, assured that no just and law-of-God-abiding people will ever do otherwise than give us their sympathy and their aid.

Death is the worst that can befall us, if so be that we are faithful to the right. It is a solemn and fearful thing to die, and mortality shrinks from facing that last great mystery. But we must all die, my friends, and the dying hour is not far distant from the youngest of us. To most of us it is very near. To many only a few brief years remain. And for the sake of these few and uncertain years, shall we push off this present trouble upon our children who have to stay here a little longer? There is nothing that can so sweeten the bitter cup of mortality when we shall be called to drink it, nothing that can so cheer us in the prospect of parting from all we love, nothing that can send such a blessed light on before us into the dark valley which we must enter, as the consciousness of fidelity to Man and to God. And now, in these times of great trouble which have come upon us, we have a peculiar and special opportunity of testifying our fidelity, and of enjoying a full experience of its power to support us. We may gather from this trouble a sweetness that shall take away from all suffering its bitterness. We may kindle that light in our bosoms, which shall make death come to us as a radiant angel. You, dear friends, who have passed the meridian of life, you, who will soon find your path beset by the infirmities of declining years, how can we better use the few years that, at the longest, may be left to us, than by meeting promptly, unreservedly, the great claim that is made upon us, by committing ourselves, without qualification or abatement, to the holy interest of human freedom? Believe me, there is no provision for the worldly comfort of your children that you can make for them, though you should employ every remaining moment in securing it; there is no estate, however ample, that you can bequeath to them, that will so enrich and bless them as the memory of your self-sacrificing courage and fidelity. Perhaps the trouble which has now begun in our day is to extend on into theirs, and the confusion and the conflict may be worse then than now. Let your children, then, have the inspiring help of your example. Let the dear cause of God and man be still more endeared to them by the remembrance of your devotion to it. And every true word that they shall speak will sound as the echo of your beloved voice, and every service that they render to truth and liberty will bring you back to them almost visibly, and though you die, you will still live with them always.

From a Thanksgiving Sermon, by Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY.

Thirty years ago, William Lloyd Garrison—the moral Garibaldi of our country—came forth from his obscurity, and raised the cry of impartial liberty—freedom for the colored not less than for the white inhabitants of our country,

"Truths would you teach, to save a sinking land,
All fear, few aid you, and none understand."

Such was the experience of that pure, illustrious philanthropist. Although the principles which he announced were as intelligible and obviously true as the leading doctrines of our Declaration of Independence, or the first precepts of Christian morality, yet were they misapprehended by many, and misrepresented by more. To this day, his seminal proposition, that "immediate emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of the master," is accepted by only a few.

Nevertheless, the announcement of that truth, and the inquiries and disussions to which it has given rise, have disseminated an anti-slavery sentiment throughout our country which will be mighty, through God, to the overthrow of our republican despotism. The passionate, violent opposition it has called out, is as sure an evidence of its vitality as is the assent of all who have embraced and dared to advocate it. As did the preaching of the gospel in Judea, so has this promulgation of deliverance to the captives in our country brought not peace, but contention. It has divided families, sundered Churches, broken in pieces ecclesiastical bodies and political parties, and now threatens even to dissolve our Federal Union. But, dearly beloved, "let not your hearts be troubled, ye believe in God," believe also in the might of the right! The Lord reigns! let the earth rejoice! Be not dismayed, though the heavens fall. Nothing shall harm you, if you be found on the Lord's side, which is the side of justice and humanity. All is not yet accomplished; many a weary year may roll over us before it shall be. But rejoice and give thanks that so much has been done. A new political party has come into power, which is pledged, at least, to withstand the *further extension* of slavery. That is a good for which, if it be effected, we cannot be too thankful. It is, too, the precursor of something better. When the monster iniquity shall be pent up within its present limits, it will prey upon itself. It can live but by stretching out into new regions and feeding upon their virgin soils.

Of course the slaveholders understand all this; and they are alarmed, that the beginning of the end of their "peculiar institution" is at hand. You must not wonder at their excitement, nor be dismayed by their fury. They may do some damage, though not, I trust, so much as they threaten. The greatest harm they can do is to frighten or persuade us to make some new compromise, or to restore the old Missouri line, and to pay for the fugitives that we may shelter or help to escape. Already has the suggestion come from near the headquarters of Republicanism in this State, that such concessions would be reasonable. Far otherwise. They would be craven—base in themselves, and suicidal to that party, if it should consent to them. There is a power behind the Republican party, which will throw it down, if it shall be thus recreant to its high duty, its avowed principles. The spirit of the Almighty Father prompts us to the entire extirpation of slavery; and there are tens of thousands in our free States who are animated to labor untiringly to that end. The spirit of our day—the spirit that has called the Republican party into being and borne it up to political ascendancy—has declared that the evil of slavery shall be extended no further; that man, therefore, is a traitor to the party, and a stumbling block on the highway of the Lord—the way of progress—who suggests or would consent to such concessions.

Oh, let me entreat you to make no further concessions to the oppressors of mankind. The dissolution of our Union would indeed be a great calamity; but a far greater evil would it be to perpetuate our Union by agreeing to perpetuate, uphold, or extend the system of slavery. If we are calm, indulgent, allowing the slave States to go out of the Union if they choose, they will soon find out their sad mistake—a mistake far more mischievous to them than to us. For what can they gain by the dissolution of their Union with us? Nothing but a temporary gratification of their passionateness. They will be equally near to the free States, that will then be to the fugitives from slavery what Canada now is. They will be equally near to the dreaded Abolitionists, who recognize no geographical boundary or political restrictions to their sympathies with the oppressed, and their exertions for the deliverance of the enslaved. They will be equally near to the north star, that will guide the flying bondmen as unerringly to the land of freedom then as now. They will be equally near to, or rather, I should say, equally far from God and Christ and the common sentiment of humanity. These all are working together to effect the subversion of that system of all unrighteousness which slaveholders are endeavoring to uphold. Unless, therefore, slaveholders are mightier than the *true* and the *right*, mightier than God, Christ, and the better part of man's nature, they must be discomfited in the unequal conflict.

From WENDELL PHILLIPS's Speech at Watertown, Mass.

Some men dread secession; but now, Mr. Chairman, I dread concession a great deal more than secession (applause). I think New York is a great deal nearer to kneeling than South Carolina is to walking. The Northern States may give up all which it has been the object of thirty years of agitation to impress upon them, and to make them determine to maintain; and I don't care whether they maintain it or not, provided they leave our Yankee tongues free to ask all sorts of questions and all sorts of times. Napoleon said he feared five newspapers more than a hundred thousand men. What would he have said of twelve hundred thousand Massachusetts tongues, infinitely more dreadful than five newspapers?

Now what we want to decide at this hour and this year is, not whether the North will back down or stand up, but whether New England keeps her right of discussing freely all things (applause). The old story goes, that when Crœsus showed the Greek his costly array, the treasures, and gems, and gold, the Greek drew his sword and said, "This is more than them all, for with it I can gain them all!" So I say of the unfettered tongue. Let the North yield all; let Congress yield all it pleases; let politics yield all it pleases; let the pulpit yield all it pleases; while the people keep the right of free speech we can get it all back again (applause). And that is the main Gibraltar that we should see to it that we defend. It is no matter to us about the compromises they agree upon at Washington. They may compromise our Personal Liberty bill, but they can never repeal it; and if they do, John A. Andrew will never sign the repeal (applause).

Gentlemen at Washington are making learned speeches and saying what ought to be repealed, what shall be repealed, and what must be repealed. Thank you, gentlemen; we have made up our minds to repeal nothing (applause). As the fish said to the cook, when she asked him how he would prefer to be cooked, "I don't want to be cooked at all." So we say to the gentlemen in Congress, "We care not to be compromised at all. We are to repeal nothing—give back nothing."

This is, to be sure, but a Lyceum lecture—nothing but an ordinary literary lecture. But when a man says it shall not be delivered, it is of inestimable importance that it should be. As Luther said of the Sabbath, when the priests charged upon him at that day, "I don't care what I do on that day, but if you say I shall not play upon the violin, I will, to show that I had a right to." Daniel Webster said the same thing, not quite so humbly, in Congress, that when a man told him he should not discuss, it was the very time he intended to discuss. So I am here to-night to show that we can meet here in peace, selecting our own time and our own subject.

State street has not bought these acres, nor got title-deeds of Yankee tongues, yet (applause). While we keep the English language and this glorious Saxon tongue of ours, we mean to use it, wherever we choose, as did the Sidneys, the Adamses, the Hancocks, the Otises of that day when it was treason to preach free speech. But they preached it, if they broke an empire asunder, and we will sustain it and practise it, even if the Canada line goes down to Mason and Dixon's. God speed the day—let it travel fast! (Great applause.)

REAL OBJECTS OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 24, 1860.

DAY by day it grows more and more clear that the object of the revolutionists is to break up the Union, not for the purpose of separating the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding States, but to form a new Union and Constitution, constructed for the nationalization and perpetuation of slavery. The expectation is, that the secession of a certain number of States, with all the agitation and apprehension that will grow out of it, will politically revolutionize enough of the free States to enable the slaveholding States to accomplish this purpose. And the calculation is a very simple one. The slavery people demand Constitutional guaranties on these points:

1. That property in slaves shall be put on the footing of all other property in the Territories and in the States.

2. That the slaveholders shall be protected in all the Territories, and slavery be established therein by Constitutional provision.

3. That slavery shall not be abolished in the District of Columbia, in the national dockyards, forts, or elsewhere, under national jurisdiction, and the inter-State slave-traffic shall not be forbidden.

These and kindred provisions referring to Fugitive Slave laws, Personal Liberty bills, etc., incorporated into the Constitution, will make the new Union, in the language of Mr. Lincoln, "all slave." In other words, it will make it a thorough-going slaveholding confederacy.

There are difficulties in the scheme, but after all, it may prove more feasible than many now are willing to admit.

If ten of the free States can be won over under the fright and terror of dissolution, that is enough to consummate it. The question is, are those ten States to be found? Let it be remembered that the threatened alternative of the modest gentlemen and patriots who propose and advocate the scheme, is the destruction of the government, civil war, and universal ruin.

I remarked a week or two ago that, with all South Carolina's apparent precipitancy, it was very likely that even that excessively pugnacious community would pretermit her assault on Fort Moultrie, and otherwise omit important acts of sovereignty that seemed imminent on secession taking place. It turns out that all this is entirely true, and that all resistance to the United States authority is postponed to a more convenient season.

It will undoubtedly seem incredible to moderate men that this audacious secession movement has simply the purposes in view I have here suggested. But there are, nevertheless, the best of reasons for believing that such are the ends its more wary leaders aim at.

It is confidently believed that the whole line of border free States can be got into the project, and that the commercial interests of New York will bring her in also. As to New England, the contrivance looks to her possible expulsion, or her voluntary declination to accede to the terms of the proposed reconstruction.

It is not really desired or expected to obtain any concessions of the character demanded out of the present Congress. It is not supposed that either the body or the times are ripe. It is not any part of the plan to *save* the Union. The design is to *break* it up, with a view to bring down the free States to propose or acquiesce in its reconstruction on the terms the slaveholding States are willing to accept.

There are no signs I can see of war, or bloodshed, or resistance to Federal authority even in the seceding States. They will threaten it all, in their attitude of secession, after they shall have withdrawn, unless the free States come to terms. I think I see all this, in the guarded and often pregnant language of the leaders of the movement, and in their coolness of demeanor, in view of what seems to so many an imminent, dire catastrophe. Unless this be so, we have some surprising impersonations of imperturbability.

No doubt the plan is a bold one, environed by difficulties and dangers great enough to affright many leading men in the slaveholding States. It tries the nerves of thousands who silently watch, or gently express resistance. It alarms conservative minds. But the scheme is nevertheless characteristic of the slavery leaders, and its success is predicated on the fears of the North, and the honest desire of the people everywhere not to see this Union broken up, or incur the risk of having the government broken down by revolutionists. It is a case in which timidity is expected to yield to audacity. Is it an unreasonable expectation, or does the plan differ from the usual methods by which mankind have been generally ruled? Why, then, shouldn't it succeed? Can the free States hold steady under the pressure? We shall see.—J. S. P.—*Tribune.*

PROTECTION TO NORTHERN FREEMEN.

From The Cincinnati Gazette.

WHILE we are settling this question of constitutional rights, and new guarantees are being demanded by the dreadfully abused South, we are in favor of demanding some guaranty of protection to the lives of Northern citizens, the tarring and feathering, riding on rails, hanging and drowning of whom seems to have become as fashionable and popular an amusement in the cotton and sugar States as bull fights in Spain. While it is unconstitutional for a Northern mob to rescue a fugitive slave, it appears to be entirely constitutional for a Southern mob to hang a poor Northern mechanic to the nearest tree, on suspicion of incendiarism, or on a confession extracted by the lash out of some negro, or merely because he happens to be a Northern man. The appetite for this species of entertainment has grown into a passion, and it has now become so well established as to entitle it to be considered an "institution" of that section.

We have the best reason for believing that not one-half the number of occurrences of this character ever find their way into the newspapers, or are ever heard of by the North. They have become so frequent as to excite no special remark, and newspapers being few and far between in that region, many of them either never reach these means of publicity, or are purposely suppressed. Not one in twenty of the hapless victims are guilty of the crimes for which they are executed.

The simple hanging of a Northern man has heretofore been considered a sufficient "indemnity for the past and security for the future," so far as he was concerned. But in the present state of the Southern mind, something more seems to be required to fully satisfy the claims of justice, it having become a much more grievous offence, since Lincoln's election, to be a citizen of the free States, than ever before. Accordingly, they are now improving on their previous attainments in that line, by burning the bodies after death, or barrelling them up and rolling them in the river, as was done recently at Friar's Point, Miss., Southern soil being too sacred to be polluted by holding the body of an "Abolitionist." What new process of refinement will next be invented, we are, of course, left to conjecture, but it is not to be supposed that the resources of Southern genius in this direction are by any means exhausted.

The loss of a fugitive slave, "owing service and labor," has come to be regarded in this paradise of fanatics as far more valuable than the life of a Northern citizen, to whom we have heretofore supposed the Constitution of his country guaranteed freedom of thought and speech wherever its protecting ægis extended. We of the North have been educated to think differently. We happen to believe that the life of a Northern freeman can only be taken away by due process of law; that it is worth a trial before a jury of his countrymen; and that it is not to be placed at the mercy of reckless and infuriated mobs, nor sacrificed on negro testimony extracted by torture, which is illegal under the statutes even when voluntarily tendered. And we think it is now high time, if a new settlement is to be made, that this great, powerful, and free North, so long patient and supine under these barbarous outrages, should have something to say about *her* constitutional rights, and demand, in the majesty of her strength, and now that longer forbearance has become a crime, ample gu

A VOICE FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN HICKMAN.

[On Friday evening, Dec. 28th, at a Republican Festival in Sansom Hall, Philadelphia, the Hon. John Hickman, M.C. from the Chester District, made the following speech.]

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PHILADELPHIA: I thank you for the opportunity you have afforded me for giving expression to my devotion to the Constitution and the Union. I love the Constitution, because it secures the Union, and I love the Union because it gives to us security and prosperity. Without them we should fall into anarchy; and worse, without them, brother would be arrayed against brother, and blood would run down the streets of your beautiful city.

It is not necessary for me to declare to you, who are apprised of transpiring events, that they are both in danger, and that neither of them will be preserved by paper resolves. The time has rather arrived for action than expression. No man can maintain the integrity of this Union by popular assemblies declaring devotion to the Constitution. The time has come when every man has got to define his position in the great struggle which is about to come off between rival sections and rival interests. No greater truth was ever proclaimed in the hearing of the American people than that there is an antagonism between freedom and slavery (applause). And let no man console himself with the reflection that this antagonism is to be quieted by the palliatives of compromise (a voice: or by public meetings). You cannot form truces between them which will last. It is as impossible as to dam up mighty rivers, and to say that from such a point the dry land shall appear. As long as the free sentiment of the North shall invade the territory of the South, so long the South will have complaints; and you have now to make up your minds whom you will serve—whether you will serve God or Belial (applause).

This is not the first time in our history that these difficulties have come upon us, and when the safety of the country has been imperilled. In 1820 we compromised, in 1832 we compromised, in 1854 we compromised, for the purpose of making peace between these rival and conflicting interests; and in every instance in which compromises have been entered into, these compromises have been followed by increased difficulties and dangers. And now it is proposed to us, with all the experience of the past, that we shall again endeavor to make a lasting truce between freedom and slavery. I have said, at another time and in another place, that air lines may divide rival States, but they can never bound conflicting sentiments. The lights of the press, the waves of proficient craft, the mechanical tendencies of highly productive art—these will always make an impression upon the weak and the impotent. My fellow-citizens, I put it to you—sober, staid, sensible men—to give to me, if you can, the lines of compromise which shall give to us rest. Will you restore the Missouri Compromise line (a voice, "No") enacted in 1820 at the demand of the South, and repealed in 1854 at the same demand? Will you reenact it again? (A voice, "Not by any means.") Not by any means. No, I would rather suffer my right arm to be severed from the shoulder (cheers) than place upon myself any such mark of humiliation and disgrace (renewed cheers). Are you willing that this game of battledore and shuttlecock shall longer be played between the South and the North? If you are, I am not, and the line is drawn between us as distinctly as it is drawn between the North and the South (a voice, "He's exactly right," and cheers). As for myself, I say it here, and I say it distinctly, desiring not to be misunderstood by any man—and you will find I will carry it out through my life—No more compromises (cries of "Good," and vociferous and long continued applause). My love for the Constitution and the Union is equal to that of any other man (cheers), but I will not buy them from any man who does not exclusively own them ("Good," and cheers). If the Constitution and the laws will not secure the fealty of every right-minded citizen, is it to be expected that a flimsy compromise, patched up by members of Congress, is going to do what they cannot effect? My motto is, "Millions for defence, not one cent for tribute" (cheers).

It is proper, my fellow-citizens, that we should look at the realities of the times. South Carolina declares that she has already seceded from the Union; that the bonds have been severed which bound us together. I contend that if South Carolina is out of the Union there is no State in it (cheers), for there is not vitality or power in the bonds which we supposed held us. But I give it as my opinion, as my conviction, that she is not yet out of the Union, and I also give it as my conviction that, with the blessing of Almighty God, she never will be out of the Union (tremendous applause and wild enthusiasm). If you feel as I do, I know she will never be out of the Union (cheers); and I repeat to-night what I have said on a former occasion, that the eighteen millions of the North, the toiling millions who monopolize all the art, industry and intelligence of the country, are not to be overcome, paralyzed, and moulded into shape by eight millions without these auxiliaries.

But, my friends, we have fallen upon evil times. I would not magnify our danger, nor would I, in any way, diminish the aspect which it presents. We have already arrayed against the Union a sovereign State. We have the sympathies of five or six other States so far extending to South Carolina that, in my judgment, they are ready to join her at any advantageous moment; and I am by no means certain that all the border States will not be found in affiliation. We have, in addition to this, a traitor President (loud cheers), a corrupt and rotten Cabinet (cheers), and, for aught I know, we may have the regular army against the Union, inasmuch as the President is the commander-in-chief of the army; but I declare to you my solemn conviction, to-night, that with all these fifteen States, this Federal Administration, and the army and navy banded together, the mighty millions of the North will defend and save the Constitution and the Union (cheers). If I did not believe so I should despair of my country, for I look at this thing as it exists—I should despair of my country, and would cry aloud to my God, Oh! give me a city of refuge.

What is your determination? You have declared for the Constitution and the Union. How do you hope to save them? There is, in my judgment, but one way known under heaven and among men by which they can be saved: that is, by such an expression as will go out from this hall to-night—that banded treason, no matter how strong, shall not destroy them ("Good," and cheers). Neither merchants nor manufacturers, however respectable they may be in town meeting assembled, can do anything for the cause which we have at heart, and much less can they give us safety by a truckling, mean, dog-like subserviency to the South (cheers). The day will come to all such men, and it will come quickly, too, when they will call for the mountains to fall upon and hide them from the gaze of their fellowmen (cheers). These are the men who would bind the Constitution and the Union by tape and bobbin. They have offered their price to the South, and we have seen how the South has spurned them. The only plan to save the Constitution is by a union of hearts and of hands (cheers) of resolute, determined men, who will meet the last issue (cheers). I do not doubt that I speak very far in advance of the sentiment of the times. I have never measured my expressions by present prevailing opinion, nor do I intend to do so now. I would not degrade myself by appearing before any body of men in Christendom to express opinions which I know are false (cheers). I tell you that the South believes that the North is craven, and those men to whom I have alluded, have but afforded them stronger ground for the belief (cheers). I want to know of every man I meet, either here or elsewhere, if he belongs to that body of men, or whether he belongs to another. I want to know whether he is going to purchase peace by meanness, by betraying his own people and his own interests, or whether he is going to defend the peace (cheers). My fellow-citizens, the Constitution and the Union should be upon the lips of every man, and the Constitution and the Union should be defended by the valor of every man ("Hurrah!" and cheers). Unless you think as I do—unless you speak as I do—as sure as we have met here to-night—the Constitution and the Union are lost forever (cheers). And I call upon you to save them. I call upon you to muster all your manhood, and to meet the issue, not that you have framed, but which the South has forced upon you. To meet it boldly and determinedly, not defiantly, and if you shall do so, you will have the satisfaction to know that your country is again safe (cheers). And soft as the tones of the seraph, yet loud as the thunder of heaven, the cry shall come from the sentinel on the watch-tower of liberty, "God prospers the Republic. All is well!"

The applause during Mr. Hickman's remarks was, at times, deafening. When he uttered the sentiment of "No more compromises," the shouts were tremendous; glasses rattled; cheers rang confusedly up; the whole house stood. The sentiment relative to South Carolina's inability to go out of the Union was received with even more applause, if such were possible. The denunciation of the President and Cabinet were greeted with an approving storm. So, the allusions to the duty of the people, and the strong anti-slavery sentiments of the speaker were tremendously cheered.

A SOUTH CAROLINA COMMISSIONER IN WALL STREET.—The rumor runs in Wall Street that one of the valiant sons of the Palmetto nation came on to this city the other day to raise the means on the $400,000 of bonds with which that nation is going to raise an army and navy and engage in various other disbursements. Promptly and gallantly the Bank of South Carolina had offered to take some $50,000 worth of the said bonds, which, in that region, was universally regarded as a "big thing." With such a beginning there could be no doubt of the eagerness of the faithful New Yorkers to meet the wishes of the new independent sovereignty. The agent in due time made his appearance, it is said, at the office of Mr. Belmont, a banker of well-known Southern proclivities and liberal disposition, but that gentleman, after turning over the documents carelessly, said that he did not consider them worth the paper on which they were written. At the same time he kindly informed the Palmetto man that Messrs. Duncan, Sherman and Co. were in the same line of business, were also remarkably generous men, and might possibly administer to his consolation. Forthwith he hied to the office of those bankers. A member of the firm received him cordially, listened to his tale, and replied that at present they were disinclined to do anything of the sort; but that probably Mr. Belmont, who was a great friend of the South, would accommodate him, under the circumstances. It is further told how that agent shook off the dust of his shoes against Wall street, muttered a few more oaths against the Yankees, and departed for Washington to see if something might not be done by Secretary Floyd, who sometimes does a little in that line.—*N. Y. Evening Post, 27th.*

WOMAN IN OFFICE.—The Board of Supervisors in Genesee County, N. Y., at their recent meeting, elected as their clerk Miss Hattie Smith. She had been for several years the acting clerk under her father, and the Batavia *Advocate* says she is "perfectly competent to fill the office."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH

National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary.

THE Ladies who have for so many years received the Subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask the favor of their company, as usual, at this time of the year, on

Wednesday, the 23d of January, Day and Evening,

IN THE MUSIC HALL, BOSTON.

As accidental omissions are almost unavoidable, even of those whose company is most desired, the Ladies hasten to say, that all who hate slavery, and wish to become subscribers to the funds for its peaceful, immediate abolition, without expatriation, may obtain special invitations (without which no one is ever admitted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, and of the Ladies at their respective homes.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	LYDIA D. PARKER,
MARY MAY,	ELIZA F. EDDY,
LOUISA LORING,	SARAH P. REMOND,
L. MARIA CHILD,	ABBY FRANCIS,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,	SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,	ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,	SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,	EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,	ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL,
FRANCES MIDY ROBBINS,	AUGUSTA G. KING,
CAROLINE WESTON,	ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,
MARY WILLEY,	ANNA SHAW GREENE,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,	ELIZA APTHORP,
SUSAN C. CABOT,	MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
SARAH P. ATKINSON,	MATTIE GRIFFITH,
ELIZA ANDREW,	ANNE LANGDON ALGER,

MARY E. STEARNS.

The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or in country towns, with whom we have been so long in correspondence, are earnestly entreated, for the sake of the Cause, at this moment of hope and cheer, when the very evidences of progress make it difficult to raise money in large sums—*to take up collections* in their respective neighborhoods; using all diligence to make the amount of smaller subscriptions supply any deficiency the hard times may possibly occasion in the larger ones. *Now*, as the very time for the most efficient expenditure, should be the time of most devoted effort. It is to be hoped that not a town in any State where we have ever had correspondence, nor an individual whose heart is in unison with ours on this subject, will be found wanting to our list. We have ample opportunity to know that there are many such at the South as well as at the North, for we are not exclusively of Northern birth, nor all free from the painful remembrance of having once been slaveholders. We hope to welcome as many as possible at the evening reception; at all events, to receive their subscriptions by letter. Some of the ladies will be ready, while directing the arrangements for the evening reception, to welcome and receive the subscriptions of all their friends who prefer to make their calls during the day.

The Germania Band will fill the pauses of conversation in the evening. The guests may leave cloaks and shawls in the care of the attendants at the entrance and in the anterooms.

Each invitation must be countersigned by the guest, as last year, before presenting it at the door.

Boston, December 25, 1860.

FASTING AND PRAYER IN BEHALF OF SLAVERY.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN—in compliance (he says) with numerous appeals from "pious and patriotic associates and citizens, in view of the present distracted and dangerous condition of our country"—has recommended that Friday, the 4th day of January, 1861, "be set apart for humiliation, fasting and prayer, throughout the Union."

Unfortunately, experience has shown us that Mr. Buchanan's word is not in the least to be relied upon. Nevertheless, we will look at the reasons he alleges for this recommendation. These are his words:

"The Union of the States is at the present moment threatened with alarming and immediate danger; panic and distress of a fearful character prevail throughout the land, our laboring population are without employment, and, consequently, deprived of the means of earning their bread. Indeed, hope seems to have deserted the minds of men. All classes are in a state of confusion and dismay, and the wisest counsels of our best and purest men are wholly disregarded."

Let us now turn from Mr. Buchanan's words to the facts of the case, facts which he in part ignores and in part misrepresents.

All men know that the persons whom he describes as "pious and patriotic"—"our best and purest men"—are men who desire, above all things, the perpetuation and extension of slavery; who are alarmed by the present indications of decay in that villanous "institution," and loss of the power it has wielded; and who have deliberately manufactured and extended whatever of confusion or distraction exists in the country, for the purpose of arresting the decline of slavery, and regaining the power that it has been accustomed to exercise.

Mr. Buchanan declares the present condition of our country to be "distracted *and dangerous*." This plausible collocation of words is very well suited to lead on the minds of his readers from a fact to a fiction. But it is plain that so much distraction and confusion as necessarily attends the overthrow of wrong, and the establishment of right in its place, is *not* dangerous, but greatly preferable to such order and quietness as are maintained by despotism.

Never before, since the establishment of the American Union, was the condition of this country so hopeful, so full of good omens for the future, as now. The Southern founders of this Union were so foolish and wicked as to try to combine liberty for themselves and slavery for others in one institution. Its Northern founders were wicked and foolish enough to withdraw their dissent from this arrangement, and finally to concur in it, under the expectation (which has proved delusive) that the liberty would outgrow and exclude the slavery. On the contrary, it is slavery which has increased, and liberty which has declined, through most of the intervening time. But the evils thus fostered became so enormous, and caused such immense corruption in Church, State, politics, business, literature and social life, that, thirty years ago, an organization was formed for the overthrow of slavery. Its laborers have wrought so efficiently that, though their work is not ended, the indications of its approaching success are numerous, and steadily increasing. Alarmed and enraged by these indications of the success of liberty, the advocates of slavery make a tumult, and cry out—The Union is in danger! The country is on the brink of ruin! And Mr. Buchanan, who was the willing tool of the slaveholders long before they made him President, echoes this cry, aids in propagating the absurd pretence that *the country* is in danger because slavery is losing ground, and, after having vainly tried all other means to avert this march of destiny—after having tried bribery, perjury, violence in various forms (comprehending numerous instances of destruction by fire and sword), and the rankest corruption and venality of which history furnishes any record—he abandons these in despair, raises his hands and eyes, and hypocritically exclaims—God alone can help us! Let us fast and pray!

Mr. Buchanan's prayers—directed to the accomplishment of the same evil purpose for which he has been using perjury, bribery, robbery and murder—are no less sins than these. His address to God is a repetition of the substance of his last wicked Message to a pro-slavery Congress. His prayer against danger is against danger to slavery. His prayer for quietude is for a silencing of the opponents of slavery. His prayer for a continuance of the Union is that the North will make concession enough, in regard to the continuance and extension of slavery, to persuade the South to stay in the Union.

The Church—"the great bulwark of slavery"—shows herself prompt not only to comply with Mr. Buchanan's recommendation of fasting and prayer, but to echo and enforce his version of the particular blessings to be prayed for. The *New York Observer* is a true representative of the position held by an *immense* majority of the Churches in this country which call themselves "evangelical." The leading article in the "Religious Department" (the portion prepared for "Sabbath reading") of its last number, is headed—"One Resource Left, or a Christian's Duty at the Present Crisis"—and it commences with this paragraph:

"If we were asked, What is the first duty of Christians in this present juncture of our national affairs? we should be inclined to answer, 'Prayer.' If asked, What is the second? we should still answer, 'Prayer;' and if asked, What is the third duty? our answer would be the same, 'Prayer.' Our help must be, not in the sagacity of our rulers, or the wisdom of our statesmen, but in the wisdom that cometh down from above, and in him who gives it liberally and without upbraiding, in answer to *prayer*."

The manner in which (*The Observer* hopes) a "revival" bestowed upon the Churches, in answer to prayer, would quench the love of liberty, and cause peaceful acquiescence in the continuance of slavery, is set forth in the last paragraph of the same article, as follows:

"Let us suppose a state of things which may be realized in answer to prayer. Let us suppose North and South, East and West, simultaneously visited by such an outpouring of God's spirit on the Churches, that the wires that now flash alarming signals should flash the glorious intelligence of souls renewed and Churches revived, and whole cities moved by the power of the Spirit. How readily might heart be knit again to heart! How the strength of Christian sympathy would outvie that of common citizenship! How one end of the country would send glad greetings to the other, and even political antagonism be overborne by the jubilee of praise from hearts united in common thanksgiving. Who shall say that such a result may not be realized in answer to prayer?"

The leading article in the "Secular Department" of the same number of *The Observer* explains more minutely what is its "heart's sincere desire" in regard to slavery, as follows:

"In the meantime, we venture to ask attention to the following statements and propositions:

"1. The Government was originally formed under the present Constitution, with the existence of slavery as a fixed fact in a large number of the States.

"2. The relations of the States to each other have been disturbed by the agitation of the subject of slavery as a moral and political question: a persistent war upon the institution as a sinful relation, and therefore to be destroyed.

"3. These attacks upon the domestic institutions of the slaveholding States have made them suspicious of strangers coming among them from the North, and such persons, on suspicion of being Abolitionists, have been maltreated, to the exasperation of the North.

"4. Hostility to the institution of slavery has led several States to pass laws designed to defeat the Act of Congress made to carry out the provision of the Constitution respecting fugitives from labor or service.

"5. These States ought to repeal all laws designed or calculated to interfere with the laws of the United States.

"6. The South ought to hold fast to the Union as it is, and contend for the letter and spirit of the Constitution, with those in the North who are faithful to the compact as it was originally formed.

"7. The public sentiment of the North toward the South, and of the South toward the North, ought to be corrected, by the circulation of facts, in the place of that violent and reckless abuse which now marks the public press. The fierce war of Abolitionism ought to be arrested, and the ill-treatment of Northerners in the South, which now inflames the Northern mind, ought to be stopped, and the reciprocal rights of all the citizens of all the States to the enjoyment of *legal* protection in every State, ought to be secured. Thus, all *abuse* on both sides, in word and deed, should cease, as unchristian, and absolutely inconsistent with permanent and fraternal union.

"8. The Constitution should be strictly interpreted by the Supreme Court, and literally obeyed by the North and by the South, neither seeking the advantage of the other, and if the question of slavery in the Territories cannot be settled under the Constitution as it is, then let the Constitution be so amended as to establish a line running through the Territories to the Pacific, north of which slavery shall not be permitted, and south of which slavery may be permitted, until the formation of a State government, when the people may decide the question for themselves. This will relieve the *conscience* of those who are steadfastly opposed to permitting the extension of slavery, because it is simply returning to the principles on which the Republic was originally constructed, and leaves the responsibility of extending slavery upon those who are willing to take it."

This is what a majority of the Churches in the United States will be praying for, on the day on which most of our subscribers are reading this paper.

At the same time, a smaller portion of the Southern Churches will be praying for the dissolution of the Union, and for the legitimation and extension of the foreign slave trade.

At the same time, a still smaller portion of the Northern Churches will be praying that the lovers of liberty may stand fast, quit them like men, be strong, and resolutely refuse to make the wicked concessions that will shortly be demanded of them under the name of "compromise."

All these, however, will be assuming to pray to the same God, and, strange to say, the class last mentioned will assume that both the other classes are true Christians!

The result will be, that while the first two classes will use the pretence of religion to confirm themselves in an enormous error and a dreadful sin, the last class, held by their Church relations and associations under the monstrous delusion that slaveholders are Christian brethren, will be more moved to sympathy with them than with either the oppressed slaves, or those who are acting in behalf of the slaves; and thus the day of fasting and prayer will accomplish precisely that which the hypocritical "old public functionary" intended.

Think of the absurdity of the assumption involved in the union of these three classes in a day of prayer, each observing it because requested by one of the worst men in the whole country, of whom all the three classes are expressing, elsewhere, the utmost contempt and detestation!

In consequence of this call, one of these classes of men (a set very little accustomed to *work* for liberty), assemble, at the request of the corrupt "old public functionary," to pray, but venture to diverge so far from his counsel and intent as to pray for liberty instead of for slavery. Of course, they fall into the general tone and style of the prayer meeting, and pray that God would hear and answer the requests of *all* his people, there and elsewhere assembled, meaning the church-members, all over the country, who join in the observance of this day!

But, at the same moment, another of these sets of men, assumed by those just spoken of to be, equally with themselves, regenerate men, children of God, elect, adopted, justified and sanctified, are praying for something precisely opposite; for the increase, and extension, and perpetuity of slavery; for the revival of the foreign slave trade; and for the suppression of all speech and action opposed to these!

And, at the same moment, the intermediate third class, numerically the largest of all, equally the accepted children of God, and so entitled to look for a favorable answer to *their* prayers, are making request for something incompatible with each of the opposites previously mentioned; namely, that neither liberty nor slavery may triumph, but that each may remain as at present, an accepted constituent part of our political, commercial, social and religious system!

If God grants either of these three prayers, he must inevitably deny the two others, and disappoint those who make them! But how monstrous, how absurd, to assume that an observance of the profligate "old public functionary's" day is in any manner or degree a compliance with God's will! How monstrous to assume (as the Churches do) that any of those are Christians who trade in slaves, in the souls and bodies of men and women!

The pretence of especial danger to the American people at the present time is one of the lies of the slaveholders, echoed by their ally, the American Church. The state of this people was never so hopeful as now. Though the long, chronic danger in which we have lived is not yet past, still, the people of this country were never so much awake to the importance of expunging slavery and of establishing liberty; "liberty through all the land, among all the inhabitants thereof." Never since the commencement of this nation were so many people earnest in performing their duty to God and man—in fulfilling the work for which Christ also declared himself sent, the proclaiming of deliverance to the captive, the setting at liberty of them that are bruised!

Let every man and woman *work* for liberty, and firmly refuse the slightest concession to slavery. Let those who find themselves strengthened for work by prayer, seek such strength *in their closets*, as Jesus counselled, and then return to their work. But when a call to prayer is made, whether by parson or President, for the purpose of turning men away from anti-slavery work, let it be treated with the utter and open contempt which it deserves. Surely, that is now fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet—"It is iniquity, even the solemn meeting"!

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND BRITISH FREEDOM.

A FUGITIVE SLAVE DEMANDED AS A MURDERER.

THE people of Canada have been much excited of late upon the question whether they are bound by the terms of the Ashburton treaty to surrender as a murderer a fugitive slave who kills the man that attempts to obstruct his flight? The circumstances under which the question arose are thus stated by a Toronto correspondent of *The Tribune*.

On the 28th September, 1859, Seneca T. P. Digges, of Howard County, Missouri, when returning home to dinner, saw walking across his plantation a strange negro, whom he hailed. In reply to a series of questions addressed to him by Digges, the negro told a story to the following effect. He said his name was William Anderson, and that he was the slave of one McDonnell, who resided about thirty miles from Digges's plantation. To this McDonnell he had been sold in 1833 by a Mr. Perkins, whose estate was but a short distance from Digges's abode, and he was soon on his way thither for the purpose either of getting Perkins to buy him from McDonnell, or to exchange him for some other man. He had two reasons for desiring this; he had been much ill-treated by McDonnell, and he had a wife, slave to a man named Brown, whose estate adjoined that of Perkins. It is said that, according to the State law of Missouri, any negro found more than twenty miles from his master's plantation without a pass may be arrested and taken back; the person so taking him back becoming entitled thereby to a reward of $5, and a mileage of ten cents. After hearing Anderson's account, Digges asked him for his pass. The poor fellow replied that he had none. "Then," said the humane slaveholder, "I can allow you to go no further until I hear from your master. Come with me, and I will give you some dinner." The pair walked toward the house for some distance, when the negro broke and ran. Digges immediately called out to three "black boys" who were near, "Catch that runaway, and I'll give you the reward." Away the three started in pursuit. Anderson ran in a circle, and was chased for near an hour by them. Digges, after awhile, was joined by his son, a lad of fifteen, and upon a signal from one of the black boys, they crossed the circle and met the runaway just as he was nearing a fence. Over this fence the planter leaped, brandishing in his hand a light stick. Anderson waved a large dirk knife; before him stood the enraged planter, twenty yards behind him were hastening on his three pursuers armed with stout clubs. There was not a moment to be lost. The planter commanded the breathless, panting negro to surrender; the negro said he would kill any one who touched him. Insolent language to fall from the lips of a slave! So thought the planter, as he broke his stick over the fugitive's head. But the fugitive was as good as his word; he dealt a true blow; he plunged his knife into Mr. Digges's heart. It was now the planter's turn to fly; he endeavored again to get over the fence, and was assisted in his attempt by Anderson, who stabbed him again and tumbled him into the ditch. In less than forty-eight hours there was an end to Mr. Digges. He lived long enough to make a full confession, and then departed for a land where he will inevitably be convinced of certain facts concerning "niggers" which he was fond of denying in his lifetime. Anderson succeeded in making good his escape to Canada, and took up his abode in the County of Brant. He lived a quiet and industrious life, and, being joined by his wife, felt himself truly a freeman. But some few months ago, the bloodhounds of the Missouri law found him out, and made a demand for his rendition, under the Ashburton treaty, for the crime of murder.

Anderson, it appears, was imprudent enough to relate the circumstances of his escape to a fellow by the name of Wynne, who reported them to a Justice of the Peace named Mathews; and the latter—influenced, it is believed, by the basest of motives—upon this information alone, caused the fugitive to be arrested and imprisoned, and then set himself to the work of finding the master, or the friends of Digges, and inducing them to put forward a demand for his extradition. Anderson, while in prison, sent for Mr. Freeman, an able lawyer, and told him his story. Mr. Freeman saw at once that Mr. Mathews had no authority to retain the prisoner, and told him if he did not set him at liberty he would bring the matter to the notice of the County Judge. Mathews thereupon discharged the man; but afterwards, receiving from the United States the evidence for which he had waited more than four weeks, he again had him arrested—this time upon the information of J. A. Gunning, of Detroit, who is believed to have been hired for the purpose. Witnesses were brought from Missouri, and the affidavit of Phil, a slave of Digges, six years old, was offered to prove the homicide. Mathews decided that the evidence was sufficient to require the extradition of the prisoner, and so certified the Governor General, whose legal adviser, unwilling to assume the responsibility of giving an official opinion, brought the question before the Court of Queen's Bench by *habeas corpus*. The case was argued before that Court at Toronto, on the 24th of November, by J. B. Freeman, Esq., an eminent lawyer and the leader of the Hamilton Bar, for the prisoner, and by Mr. Eccles, Q. C., and Mr. R. A. Harrison (instructed by the Attorney General) for the Crown. The Judges were Chief Justice Sir John B. Robinson, and Justices McLean and Burns. Among the papers submitted to the Court was the following:

To His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, etc., etc.

The petition of the undersigned, John Anderson, confined in the jail of the County of Brant, humbly showeth: That your petitioner was born in the State of Missouri, one of the United States of America.

That to the best of his knowledge he is of the age of thirty years.

That he was the slave of Burton and another in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one. That the plantation of Burton and the other was within about thirty miles from the plantation of Samuel Brown. That in the last mentioned year your petitioner was married to one Maria Tomlin, who was the daughter of Lewis Tomlin, who had purchased his liberty from his master. That about six weeks before he formed the determination to come to Canada, for the purpose of obtaining his freedom, he was sold and transferred by said Burton and his partner to one McDonnell, who lived about thirty miles distant from your petitioner's wife.

That your petitioner had always felt that he had a right to his freedom.

That he had never done anything to forfeit his liberty, and was not subject to any restraint through crime.

That he might lawfully use any means within his power to obtain his liberty, and with that object ran away from McDonnell. That he went to his wife, who was a slave of and lived with Samuel Brown, and consulted with her as to his intentions, and she concurred with him in his views, with an ultimate hope as to herself, and a young child then about eight months old, the issue of our marriage, obtaining their liberty.

That while he was then there he was pursued but escaped. That in his course to Canada he had to pass the plantation of Seneca F. T. Digges, and that while passing it he was accosted in nearly the manner mentioned in the evidence transmitted to your Excellency. That he made the excuse of wishing to go to Givens's, so that he, Mr. Digges, would allow him to pass.

That this will be manifest, or otherwise your petitioner could have had no reason, under the evidence, for attempting to escape.

That when said Digges refused to allow this excuse for not having a pass, your petitioner found it necessary to make his escape, and accordingly endeavored to do so.

That your petitioner was run down, having been chased for nearly an hour in a circle, and at the moment he was looking for success, Mr. Digges appeared before him.

That he could not turn, his pursuers being at his heels with clubs, and being borne on with the first impulse, he dashed against said Digges with an open knife with which he had threatened his pursuers as will appear from the evidence of Phil, hereto annexed, which is nearly true; whether your petitioner struck with it more than once, he cannot recollect, but whether sudden impulse bid, that he did to obtain his liberty. That your petitioner was imprisoned for about the space of three weeks last spring on this charge, but no one appearing against him, he was discharged. That another warrant was issued against him for his arrest for the same crime on the third day after his discharge, on an information quite insufficient, as he is advised.

That your petitioner was not aware of such second warrant having been issued until he was arrested in the town of Simcoe, about two weeks since. That he had gone from Caledonia, where he resided at the time of his arrest, in the spring, to Simcoe, in the adjoining County, for the purpose of obtaining employment at his trade as a mason. That your petitioner therefore prays that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to withhold an order delivering your petitioner to the authorities of the State of Missouri, inasmuch as by the British law he was entitled to be free there, and the evidence shows that he only used such force as was necessary to maintain that freedom there; and your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

his
(Signed) JOHN ⋈ ANDERSON.
mark.

(Witness) A. S. RKACHIE, Deputy Jailer.
Brantford, 1st October, 1860.

In the course of the hearing, the prisoner, by his counsel, submitted the following supplemental statement:

"When I started I made up my mind no man should take me alive. After travelling the second or third day, after being chased the third time, I was compelled to do what I did. I told the slaves (and also showed them the knife) that I would fight if they did not leave me. They told the owner I had the knife, and he said, We will take him dead or alive; and they followed on until they run me down; they surrounded me, and having clubs began to strike me; and the owner saying, Kill him. When we came in contact, I struck a blow and then ran away and left them; and the owner said to the slaves, Go on and take him. I told the slaves to go back and tell their master that they could not do anything with me; they turned and went back. After I got to Canada I wrote to my folks in the States, and received an answer saying my wife was in Detroit wanting to see me; my friends advised me not to go or write any more."

The article of the Ashburton treaty under which the extradition of Anderson is claimed reads as follows:

"It is agreed that Her Britannic Majesty and the United States shall, upon mutual requisitions by them or their ministers, officers, or authorities, respectively made, deliver up to justice all persons who, being charged with the crime of murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper, committed within the jurisdiction of either, shall seek an asylum or be found within the territories of the other: *Provided, that this shall only be done upon such evidence of* CRIMINALITY *as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found,* would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the crime or offence had there been committed; and the respective judges or other magistrates of the two governments shall have power, jurisdiction and authority, upon complaint made under oath, to issue a warrant for the apprehension of the fugitive or person so charged, that he may be brought before such judges or other magistrates respectively, to the end that the evidence of criminality may be heard and considered; and if, on such hearing, the evidence *be deemed sufficient to sustain the charge*, it shall be the duty of the examining judge or magistrate to certify the same to the proper executive authority, that a warrant may issue for the surrender of such fugitive. The expense of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by the party who makes the requisition and receives the fugitive."

The act of the Canadian Legislature, prescribing the duties of the Judicial and Executive officers under the treaty, reads as follows:

"Upon complaint made under oath or affirmation, charging any person found within the limits of this Province with having committed, within the jurisdiction of the United States of America, *or of any of such States*, any of the crimes enumerated or provided for by the said treaty, any of the judges of any of Her Majesty's Superior Courts in this Province, or any of Her Majesty's justices of the peace in the same, may issue his warrant for the apprehension of the person so charged, that he may be brought before such judge or such justice of the peace, to the end that the *evidence of criminality* may be heard and considered; and if, on such hearing, *the evidence be deemed sufficient by him to sustain the charge according to the laws of this Province, if the offence alleged had been committed herein*, he shall certify the same, together with a copy of all the testimony taken before him, to the Governor, that a warrant may issue, upon the requisition of the proper authorities of the said United States, *or of any of such States*, for the surrender of such person, according to the stipulation of the said treaty; and the said judge or the said justice of the peace shall issue his warrant for the commitment of the person so charged to the proper jail, there to remain until such surrender be made, or until such person be discharged according to law."—12 Vic. c. 19, s. 1.

The arguments of counsel in this case, as reported in the Toronto *Globe*, are before us, but it is quite impossible for us to reproduce them, or even give a synopsis of their points. Our readers, however, with the facts before them, will see at a glance the nature of the issue, and the course of argument open to the parties respectively. On behalf of the Crown it was urged, that the offence of Anderson was one which, if committed in Canada, would subject him to trial for murder; that Digges, in attempting to arrest Anderson, was engaged in enforcing the laws of Missouri, and therefore that the latter was clearly guilty of murder, and ought to be given up in obedience to the requisition of the United States Government. On behalf of the prisoner it was contended, that the proceedings of the committing magistrate were, in some respects, illegal; that the affidavit of Digges's slave was improperly admitted, the witness being under constraint; but mainly, that a slave attempting to escape from bondage, and killing the person who attempted to reënslave him, did not, according to the Common Law, commit murder, but justifiable homicide, and that the rendition of Anderson would be a virtual recognition, on British soil, of the slave laws of the United States.

The decision of the Court was given Dec. 15th. Chief Justice Robinson, and Mr. Justice Burns, united in the judgment that the prisoner should be surrendered. Mr. Justice McLean dissented, on grounds which every sincere hater of slavery, and every one who admits the equal manhood of the black man, must deem conclusive. He reviewed the proceedings of the Justice (Mathews), and the evidence in the case, stating his conclusion thus:

"Looking, then, at all the testimony taken before the Justice of the Peace, and rejecting such portion as is unnecessary and inadmissible, there is not a witness who connects the prisoner with the stabbing of Digges, unless it be Thomas L. Digges, in his statement of the death-bed declarations of his father to him, and these only show that the negro by whom Digges was stabbed made certain declarations as to himself and his identity, which would be true if made by the prisoner; but rejecting the deposition of the slave Phil, there is no testimony which establishes satisfactorily that the prisoner is the person who caused the death of Digges. On the grounds, therefore, that the prisoner was arrested in the first instance on an insufficient complaint, and that he is now detained in custody on a warrant of commitment until discharged by due course of law for an offence committed in a foreign country; and on the further grounds, that the offence stated in the warrant of commitment is not one for which the prisoner is liable to be detained under the Provincial Act for carrying out the treaty with the United States for the surrender of certain fugitive criminals, and that the evidence, as given before the Justice of the Peace, is of too vague a character to establish the offence of murder against the prisoner according to the laws of this Province, I am of opinion that the prisoner is now entitled to be discharged from custody."

The Judge concluded his opinion in the following terms:

"Can it, then, be a matter of surprise that the prisoner should endeavor to escape from so degrading a position; or, rather, would it not be a cause of surprise if the attempt were not made? Digges, though he could have had no other interest in it but that which binds slaveholders for their common interest to prevent the escape of their slaves, interfered to prevent the prisoner getting beyond the bounds of his bondage; and with his slaves pursued and hunted him, with a spirit and determination which might well drive him to desperation; and when at length the prisoner appeared within reach of capture, he, with a stick in his hand, crossed over a fence, and advanced to intercept and seize him. The prisoner was anxious to escape, and, in order to do so, made every effort to avoid his pursuers. Digges, as their leader, on the country, was most anxious to overtake and come in contact with the prisoner, for the unholy purpose of riveting his chains more securely. Could it be expected from any man indulging the desire to be free, which nature has implanted in his breast, that he should quietly submit to be returned to bondage and to stripes, if, by any effort of his strength, or any means within his reach, he could emancipate himself? Such an expectation, it appears to me, would be most unreasonable, and I must say that, in my judgment, the prisoner was justified in using any necessary degree of force to prevent what, to him, must inevitably have proved a most fearful evil. He was committing no crime in endeavoring to escape and to better his own condition; and the fact of his being a slave cannot, in my humble judgment, make that a crime which would not be so if he were a white man. If in this country any number of persons were to pursue a colored man with an avowed determination to return him into slavery, it cannot, I think, be doubted that the man pursued would be justified in using, in the same circumstances as the prisoner, the same means of relieving himself from so dreadful a result. Can, then, or must the law of slavery in Missouri be recognized by us to such an extent as to make it murder in Missouri, while it is justifiable in this Province to do precisely the same act? I confess that I feel it too repugnant to every sense of religion and every feeling of justice, to recognize a rule, designated as a *law*, passed by the strong for ensl

able to him; and after having defeated, he hopes now to make friends with them, as he did with the Russians after Sebastopol. Will the tempter succeed here, as he has so often done with foreign diplomats and kings? We shall see. We shall see if the hero of the 2d December can win favor with people who pretend to love liberty, and if the framer of the imperial constitution can satisfy the people who have framed the *charte* of 1830, and the republican constitution of 1848.

P. S. It will interest you to know that M. Gustave de Beaumont has just published the Memoirs and Correspondence of De Tocqueville. These volumes will, I am sure, be read with interest in America.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 31st, 1860.

THE lecture of CHARLES SUMNER at Concert Hall, last Thursday evening, was in all respects a brilliant affair. Speaker, speech and audience were all that could have been desired, and the impression left by the occasion is one of unmixed gratification. Long before the hour for commencing, the immense room was filled—seats and aisles—to its utmost capacity, and hundreds went away unable to obtain admission. The address occupied more than two hours in its delivery, and from beginning to end was listened to with the most profound and delighted attention. The topic was LAFAYETTE, and, in Mr. Sumner's hands, a more fitting theme for the time and occasion could not have been selected. It was not as a vulgar hero, or an ordinary great man, that the illustrious Frenchman was held up to admiration. It was not to his military prowess or his noble birth, to his diplomatic skill or his wisdom in council—in all of which he was eminent—that he was indebted for his world-wide distinction; but to his heroic devotion to the Rights of Man—his life-long, consistent, and self-sacrificing advocacy of Impartial Freedom; this it was that endeared him to all hearts, and gave him the place he now occupies on the roll of the world's benefactors. Mr. Sumner drew his picture with historic fidelity, but with the skill of a master. He made the people's hearts glow and burn within them. Never did an audience hang with more delight on a speaker's lips, or respond with more enthusiasm to the utterance of noble sentiments. Every word was appreciated; not a single thought failed of its proper recognition. There was an electric current from speaker to hearer, and every flash of generous expression was followed by an instantaneous and enthusiastic burst of applause. The very words *Liberty, Freedom, Rights of Man*, etc., seemed to have a charm, so that every time they recurred, which was frequent enough, they elicited the liveliest manifestations of delight. One allusion to "Freedom of Speech" brought on a fair hurricane of applause; and the phrase, "conciliation without compromise," raised quite a tempest of admiration.

Mr. Sumner must have been much gratified; certainly we Philadelphians were pleased to a high degree. The audience and their behavior were all that any one could desire. There was no sign of disturbance, nor a single hiss of dissent. Philadelphia is not a mob city; its people hold to the freedom of speech. This was doubted a year ago, and tried and proved. Mayor Henry put down the anti-Curtis mob, and the people, by a vote, set their seal of approbation to his conduct. Philadelphia is an order-loving city; thanks in large share to Mayor Henry's faithful administration. It was a reflection upon the city and a libel on its police to say, as was said two weeks ago, that Mr. Curtis could not lecture here without provoking violence. That was a hasty word, and one which, we trust, will not soon be repeated. Reflection must have convinced the party uttering it of his mistake. Wendell Phillips's eulogy of Mayor Henry, though strong, is fully justified by that officer's administration before and since the baleful 13th of December. If that day could be made a *dies non*, Alexander Henry would still be, what he once was, the pride and boast of this municipality. But I am forgetting that a large space was devoted to this subject in my last, and that fresher topics now claim attention.

At a Republican or "People's party" dinner, given in this city last Friday evening, speeches were delivered and a spirit manifested highly creditable to the Lincoln men, and full of promise to the cause of Freedom. The speech of Mr. John Hickman, member of Congress from Chester County, was especially striking; I trust you will find room for it in your columns. It is bold, strong, frank, and in its whole tone above the range of that of ordinary politicians. It repudiates utterly the idea of further compromise. It heaps measureless scorn upon those who would patch up a flimsy peace by craven concession. And, what is best, it was received with the most unbounded expressions of satisfaction by those who heard it.

William B. Mann's speech was very good, as far as it went, and quite as full of genuine pluck as that of Mr. Hickman. He was strong on free speech, and severe on Mayor Henry. Other speakers took similar ground, and the general feeling seemed to be "No concession, no more compromise."

It is said that one of the first motions to be made after the assembling of our Legislature next week, will be to appropriate $1,000,000 to arm the militia of the State; and it is added that Gov. Packer will probably recommend some measure of this kind in his outgoing message. The people of Pennsylvania are becoming consolidated on the right side of the great questions which are now in issue before the country. The insolence of the slave-breeders, the audacity of the cabinet robbers at Washington, and the treachery of the old apostate at the head of the government, are firing the masses with an indignation that will soon know no bounds. Already the cry is—"To arms!" and when that word is authoritatively given—if given it should be—an army of a hundred thousand men, not including our already organized militia, will spring into immediate existence, ready for any emergency. Pennsylvania is a slow State; hard to move when at rest, but just as hard to stop when put in motion. It has taken twenty-five years to start her, as the Abolitionists have reason to know; how many it will require to arrest her progress, and where she will be when she fetches up, we leave the slaveholders to find out.

We hear from authentic sources that the Secessionists will probably accomplish their purpose of withdrawing the Gulf States, and perhaps some others, from the Union; that their purpose then is to "reconstruct," on a slave basis, by adopting the present Constitution just as it is, only with the addition of an article making slaves property, entitled to all the privileges of other property; that they will then invite all other States to join them; and that *they confidently expect that Pennsylvania and New York, and in fact all the Northern States, except those of New England, will be glad to accept their invitation!* They have no idea of being permanently outside the Union. They expect to be, as heretofore, leaders in the Union, without New England to embarrass them, and with their fancied rights placed on a permanent basis. It is this confidence that makes them so apparently reckless in rushing upon what to some seem the inevitable consequences of their course. If their assumption is well based, then they are wise, not reckless, and the result will fully justify them.

But they are reckoning without their host. Pennsylvania, if once released from her present pro-slavery obligations, will never again put her head into the halter. The same is true of the other free States. They have had the millstone around their necks long enough. Metropolitan leaders may be willing to make bargains and to sell out, but the people cannot be bought, and will not be sold; and no agreement, without their sanction, will be worth the cost of the paper on which it is printed.

The simultaneous rising of the people of Pittsburg, to resist the further abstraction of arms by the Secretary of War for the use of the South, shows the spirit that is spreading in the community. It was with difficulty that the Republican leaders could, on that occasion, allay the excitement, and prevent a collision, on the part of the people, with one of the departments of government. The policy of the Republicans is, to keep within the lines of legality; to do nothing unsanctioned by usage or the Constitution, and to put the responsibility of all overt acts of aggression upon their opponents. This is a wise policy, though it may possibly lead to the loss of the present seat of our national government. Some of the Southern leaders are urging the capture of the city of Washington, with its archives and bureaus, for the use of the new Confederacy. This can easily be done. All the railroads leading to that city pass through slave States. If the people of Virginia and Maryland make no resistance, all the seceders will have to do will be to say the word, and the capital is theirs. The only way to prevent it, would be for the North to anticipate them by marching a large force there in advance; but this would be an overt act, unwarranted by anything but rumor, and would give the South great advantage before the world. There is quite a struggle going on at this time, in Maryland, between the Secessionists and Anti-Secessionists. If the former should unexpectedly carry the day, then, without doubt, Washington will be taken possession of by the slaveholders, and the North compelled to inaugurate the President elect in Philadelphia, or in some other Northern city. Except that one doesn't like to see villany triumph, even temporarily, this would not be an unpleasant anticipation. Here's where Independence was originally declared. The old Hall still stands; and the old Liberty Bell, though cracked (in emblematic sympathy), might again be mended—like our government—and made to peal out its proclamation of "Liberty thoughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof."

Events are moving with rapid strides. Troubled as the times are, things are wearing a promising aspect. A great many are engaged in the work of abolition; many that have no idea of what they are about. The work is being done energetically, and after the Disunion pattern. Dissolution is now hoped for by many who used to regard the idea with horror. People are everywhere calculating the value of the Union; and it is astonishing to see how their cyphering reconciles them to the prospect of a separation.

The time is not far distant when Abolitionists will have an acknowledged place in the counsels of the nation. Their work of agitation is nearly done. The fell tree, at the root of which they have laid their axes, is beginning to topple; let those who have been eating its Sodom apples stand from under. The visit of the Prince of Wales to this country was a most opportune occurrence; already we are reaping advantages from it. The warm sympathy of England with the free States, in their present conflict, is as cheering as it was—in its degree—unexpected. It is a fitting requital for the cordial welcome we gave to the future heir of the British Crown. Fortunate it was that the Prince so far deflected from the natural course of his journey as to visit one of our slave marts. It gave him and the intelligent gentlemen who accompanied him an opportunity of testing the quality of our Virginia chivalry. Beverly Tucker, Consul at Liverpool, I see, denies that the Prince was insulted at Richmond, and writes a long letter to the London *Times*, eulogizing the character, and dilating on the immense material resources of his native State. The *Times* declines to publish the letter, simply saying: "Mr. Beverly Tucker's letter is quite beside the subject. *The insult to the Prince of Wales at Richmond is undoubted.*" Excellent, Mr. Times; you never did anything better.

Your correspondent, Miss Martineau, has much cause for gratification at the tone of the English press, and the manifestation of sentiment by the British people, as to the present juncture of affairs in America. As an Abolitionist who has labored long and faithfully in the cause, she is entitled to these tokens of encouragement. No one out of this country has done more than she for our anti-slavery enterprise; and few, if any, so much. She has had rare facilities for influencing the British mind, and faithfully has she used them. May her useful life long be spared to both countries!

M.

MISTAKES CORRECTED.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DEAR SIR: An article in THE STANDARD of last Saturday, entitled "Freedom of Speech in Philadelphia," contains some misstatements of facts, which, I am sure, you will take pleasure in correcting.

First. It is not true that the "Sons of New England in Pennsylvania," under whose auspices Mr. Beecher appeared on the occasion referred to, were "*weak enough*" to write to him "advising him to be prudent, and requesting an immediate reply, giving the title of his address, which they hoped would be conciliatory and pacific." On the contrary, a proposition made in the Board of Managers of that Society, to write Mr. Beecher a letter of the character indicated above was rejected almost unanimously, receiving no vote except from the mover, who has since, for some reason, dissevered his connection with the Society. Some members of the Society did, however, request the President, Mr. Palmer, to write to Mr. Beecher, and obtain from him the title of his address, not because they had any fear that Mr. Beecher would not choose a theme appropriate to the occasion, but from the simple desire to publish the same, and thus attract hearers, not members of the Society.

Second. No bonds were given by the Society to be responsible, in case of an attack, for damages; nor was there any promise or agreement of the kind whatsoever made by the Society, or by any one for them. The assertion to the contrary is totally without foundation. The Society simply stood upon its rights, under the contract made some months previously, and demanded the use of the Hall, which, after a positive refusal on the part of the owner, owing to the conduct of the Mayor, was finally granted.

Third. As one of the Committee referred to (though present myself upon the platform), I say most emphatically, that I *did not fear* a riotous disturbance, and I have yet to learn that any member of the Committee absented himself from the platform in consequence of any such *craven fear*.

Very respectfully, yours,
H. RYLAND WARRINER, Vice-Pres. N. E. Soc.
Philadelphia, Dec. 31, 1860.

[We gave credence—too readily, it seems—to the positive statements of *The Times*, the only New York journal which reported Mr. Beecher's lecture. Mr. Warriner has our thanks for correcting the mistakes we unwittingly made.—*Ed. Standard.*]

EMIGRATION TO HAYTI.

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION,
8 Washington Building, 221 Washington st.,
Boston, Dec. 27, 1860.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: The numerous demands made upon every hour of my time have hitherto prevented me from carefully reading, as well as from commenting on, the able article entitled "The Demands of the Hour," which appeared in THE STANDARD of December 15, in review of my recent little volume—the "Guide to Hayti."

Wherein, as to questions of policy, I differ or agree, or agree and much more, with the American Anti-Slavery Society or any other organization, is aside from my object in now addressing you; my opinions are known, and I alone am responsible for them; my actions, also, are on record, and I am not ashamed of them. By these, and by my future course, I must stand or fall.

By my actions I defy any one to accuse me of any prejudice of race; to discover in them the slightest shadow of a shade of antipathy to any color or caste. I have often found, however, that men exhibit prejudices, unconsciously, in their actions, which in their speech they repudiate and abhor; while, on the other hand, I find myself arraigned as holding doctrines which I know that my life contradicts and disavows.

But I cannot see how, by a fair deduction, this charge can be sustained; and, therefore, I respectfully ask the writer to explain how, in her own mind, she does so—for the article itself does not show it.

I protest against the theory that my reviewer by implication teaches—that a recognition of the fact, or a statement, if you please, of the opinion, that different races have different missions, is a denial of the doctrine of their inherent equality, or that one holding this belief can justly be charged with "thinking more of ethnology than Humanity." Of the American men whom I have ever met, there are two (one now in the abode of the blessed, the other winning the right to an exalted seat there), whom I love far more than any of the others; yet their faculties were essentially different; their work, similar in object, was in method conflicting; but does it follow, therefore, that my recognition of this fact, long ago avowed, implies that John Brown was less humane than Wendell Phillips, or Mr. Phillips than Capt. Brown?

I say the white man degenerates in the tropics. I say the black man does *not* degenerate in the tropics. That is all I say. Is the humanity of either race ignored or in any way doubted by these statements? I say the black in America will be annihilated here before he can enjoy a perfect social equality with the whites. Surely, this may be an error, but certainly it is no denial of the truth of the democratic idea. It is an opinion founded on observations made among every class of society in more than twenty States.

History has always accounted him the best appreciator of the spirit and character of another who most successfully carried out the leading objects of his life. I am willing, therefore, cheerfully to bide my time to let it be seen whether I have appreciated the spirit and character of Toussaint L'Ouverture. His aim was to create a great Negro Nationality. "It forms no part of the function of the American Anti-Slavery Society to preserve the identity . . . . . or to stimulate the insurrectionary spirit of any race whatever." So be it; but it forms the leading part of my function to do these things. God has done so, albeit, from the beginning till now.

Respectfully, JAMES REDPATH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, December 31, 1860.

WHAT is the matter of Charles Francis Adams? He represents Massachusetts on the House Crisis Committee, and has always been reckoned as one of the most radical anti-slavery men in Congress. He has not even the taint of Old Whiggery in his blood, which corrupts so many Republicans. He was an old-fashioned Free Soiler, Liberty party man, and would not have disowned the title of Abolitionist three years ago, I presume. Certainly he, of all men in Congress, is not the man *first* to back down before the threats and menaces of slaveholders. Yet many things look like it, and it is whispered in all the political circles of the town that Mr. Adams is ready for a compromise. He certainly has offered to so amend the Constitution that it shall be for ever out of the reach of the people of the country to abolish slavery. This, I admit, is not a violation of the principles of the Chicago platform. But it is charged that Mr. Adams, in the Crisis Committee, has offered to give over to slavery all the territory south of 36 degrees 30 minutes, not exactly in the shape of a Missouri line, but by admitting New Mexico instantly as a State. New Mexico, at present, has not a tenth of the inhabitants necessary to constitute a State; and, in this particular alone, the concession is a great outrage upon the free States, while Kansas stands begging admittance within the Union, with her 100,000 inhabitants. The worst slave laws in the known world exist upon the territorial statute book of New Mexico. They were fully exposed last winter by Mr. Bingham, of Ohio, who actually succeeded in getting a bill through the House of Representatives repealing them. That was, of course, the end of the matter, for the Senate would do nothing of the kind; nor could the bill have ever passed a full House, many of the Southern members being absent at the Charleston Convention. Now then, how *can* an anti-slavery member of Congress offer to settle with the South upon terms like these? That is, to give to slavery everything below the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes. I will not yet believe Mr. Adams has got himself into any such man-trap. It should be remembered that the doings of the Committee are under an injunction of secresy, and whatever leaks out is not fully to be relied upon. I cannot, however, pass over the charge, for it has not yet been denied by Mr. Adams or any of his friends, I believe. It is possible that the exact nature of the proposition is not understood outside of the Committee, and that, if it ever sees the light, it will contain provisions more acceptable to the free States than those which have been alluded to on the streets and in the daily newspapers. I have been informed that Kellogg of Illinois, a moderate Republican, was very indignant over Mr. Adams's proposition, and demanded to know why, if thus much of principle was conceded, the Crittenden compromise was not accepted, and the South pacified at once by yielding all to her that she demanded? Sure enough; why offer *half*, when the whole would be not a whit less degrading and would accomplish the object?

The country is rapidly drifting into the agonies of revolution. There can be no doubt of this, nor of the fact that the present administration is the cause of it. A little firmness in the government would put an end to most of this secession excitement. The worst of it is that several members of the government have, for weeks and months, been using their powers to make the revolution a successful one. Cobb, Floyd, Thompson, and the President, have been playing directly into the hands of the traitors of the cotton States. Our fortresses all along the slave State coast have been purposely dismantled; our arms have been sold by the hundred thousand to the seceding States; and not a stone has been left unturned by these high government functionaries whereby the General Government could be injured. Such treachery the world never saw before; such unmitigated scoundrelism the sun never before shone upon. The President of these United States is to-day *a traitor*, and desires to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, if he can do it so that his agency in the treasonable outrage shall be concealed.

I am rejoiced to be able to say that these multiplied atrocities are having a capital effect upon many of the Republican members here, as well as upon the people of the free States. A Northern Senator was, a day or two since, in conversation with a cotton State member of Congress, and, in concluding, he uttered the following language: "Sir, you have the advantage of us just now; but these unheard-of abominations, this treason in the very White House itself, and in all departments of the government, are rousing the people of the free States to a pitch of excitement equal to that which sweeps the South like a whirlwind. In thirty days, the North will be a unit; and, sir, let me tell you, if an armed force attempts to prevent Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, five hundred thousand armed freemen will occupy Washington, and make it the starting point for a crusade against slavery. Go on with your mad schemes a little further, *and we will abolish slavery at the point of the sword!*" The Southern gentleman was deeply impressed by this *spirit* in a Northern Congress man, and evidently did not relish the prospect pointed out so distinctly by the Northern Senator. If the free States were really up to the fighting point, there would be no disunion and no compromise. The South will never venture upon a war of the sections. She knows that slavery would be abolished in ten days after such a war should begin. The seceding States calculate upon the forbearance of the North, and shrewdly, I think. The North will not fight, unless some great outrage provokes her to it; but if once provoked to commence such a war, she will not end it till there is not a vestige of negro slavery left upon this continent.

The Republican members of Congress still keep their courage, and are not intimidated by the exciting events transpiring around us. So far as it is possible to judge, I should say that the general tone of the Republican members is as uncompromising as ever. Still, compromises are sometimes suddenly made and passed through Congress, and it is, in such times as these, difficult to get at the real sentiments of individuals. Some men would compromise if they were not afraid of their neighbors; and if they wake some morning to find that their neighbors hold the same sentiments, of course there is a sudden slump in all round. I believe that Mr. Toombs, with all his bluster, is desirous to see a compromise agreed to. The same is true of Jefferson Davis. But they demand more than the North will grant. There lies the safety of freedom.

Mr. Seward went through a series of Union evolutions before the Senate Crisis Committee, but with no idea of a surrender of his principles. He was thinking of his own record, and wanted to set down a few facts to the credit of himself and the Republican party. You must remember that Mr. Seward is a good deal of a politician as well as a statesman, and must allow him his own method of vindicating his principles. I cannot hear of any Republican Senators who are trembling at the knees, unless it be Dixon and Foster of Connecticut, and Ten Eyck of New Jersey. The Connecticut Senators have been sniffing some strong breezes from home since they made their "conciliatory speeches" two or three weeks ago, and they are feeling better. There is nothing so good for the spinal complaint as a little popular sovereignty. Give the people a chance, and they will cure or smash up these weak backbones.

There was a tremendous struggle in the Cabinet on Friday, on the question of the recall of Major Anderson from Fort Sumter. For a wonder, the North triumphed this once, and the corrupt Floyd resigned his War portfolio. Nothing but the fear of being hung in effigy as a traitor throughout the free States prevented Mr. Buchanan from acceding to Floyd's humiliating demand. If he had, it is said that the Northern members of the Cabinet, with General Scott, would have resigned their places. The miserable wretch—our Pecksniffian President—being obliged to choose between disgrace and denunciation, for once let the South "slide." However, there is no trusting him. He may recant before to-morrow night; and whether he does or not, it is uncertain whether Anderson can much longer sustain himself without reinforcements, which the President will not send him. The Secessionists, of course, are boiling over with rage at the result of the Cabinet meeting, and threaten to rend the earth in twain in revenge. So intense is their anger that it is rumored this morning that the President will reconsider, and order Anderson back. One thing, however, is a fixed fact—Floyd is out of the Cabinet, and that is a great point gained, for he was in secret a traitor, as well as a knave in money matters.

The South has given up all hopes of effecting any compromise with the North—for the propositions of Adams, Sherman, and Rice of Minnesota, are rejected with scorn—and the probabilities now greatly favor an entire separation of the slave from the free States before the 4th of March next. I think this is now the game of the slavery propagandists. Perceiving that the North cannot be menaced into any serious concessions to slavery, they are determined to take the bull by the horns. Look out, then, for a secession panic in all the slave States by the end of this month. Before the first of February, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana will have joined South Carolina. The moment the leading men from the border States advise secession, we shall see North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, and Arkansas following the same mad example. It will be very hard work to get Kentucky and Missouri to leave the present Confederacy; but they will do it when Maryland and Virginia lead the way. Now, what is the object of this sudden secession of the border States? First, to break up the United States Senate, and, if possible, give Vice-President Breckinridge a fair excuse for not counting the votes for President. If there is no quorum present, no Senate will be in existence, and these traitors calculate on the aid of three or four Northern Senators in carrying their scheme into effect. Their great object, however, is to form a new Confederacy at once, and invite the border and middle free States to join it. Northern men from those States assure Southern men that those free States would gladly join such a Confederacy, and that the people would, by a majority vote, any day, agree to it. We shall soon see how the treason works, for mighty events occur in a single day in times like these.

AVON.

EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK.

THE past week has been marked by events of great importance. Major Anderson, commanding the fortifications at Charleston, has taken the responsibility of removing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter—the latter being impregnable, and commanding all the entrances to the harbor, while the former, with the small force at his command, was likely to fall into the hands of the Revolutionists whenever they should choose to assail it. This movement served to reveal the treachery of the President, by exposing the fact that he had agreed with the traitors not to reinforce Major Anderson. At first, he was bent upon recalling Anderson, or ordering him back to Fort Moultrie, in accordance with the demands of the Fire-eaters; but the force of public opinion, and the remonstrances of a portion of his Cabinet, brought him at last to a different mind. He saw that there was *a North*, which would not tolerate such open complicity with treason. Floyd, Secretary of War, when he found that he could no longer control the President, resigned; and now it is said that the Administration is bracing itself up to make at least a show of resisting the treason of South Carolina. The Fire-eaters are disappointed and angry at this turn of affairs.

We hear rumors of compromises agreed to by Mr. Seward and Mr. Crittenden, and soon to be offered, which it is supposed will be accepted by all the Northern slave States, and unite them with the North in *whipping in* South Carolina. It is impossible to say how much foundation there is for such stories, but we fear that some concession, like that proposed by Charles Francis Adams, is about to be offered by the Republicans.

The tone of Governor Morgan's Message to the Legislature of New York, though not so bad as preceding rumors had declared, is far from satisfactory. On the side of freedom it is tame and spiritless, while its vague talk of "moderation and conciliation," and "plans of settlement that shall be just to all," is well calculated to beget the suspicion that the Governor has taken counsel of Thurlow Weed. But we must stop for want of room.

LATEST FROM WASHINGTON.

From The N. Y. Times.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, Jan. 2.

We have a government at last. High authority announces that the policy of the Administration, towards the Secessionists, is entirely changed. Hence forth it will be conciliatory but firm in the execution of the laws.

The steam frigate Brooklyn and another vessel at Norfolk were yesterday ordered to be in readiness for immediate departure to Charleston.

The evidences of a purpose on the part of the Secessionists to seize upon the public property here, and usurp the government at its Capital, have become so clear, that energetic measures are taking to defeat their plans and repress the treason. Now that the Administration begins to appreciate the necessity of preserving the government, and manifests the purpose to repudiate the treasonable influences which have hitherto paralyzed its arm; the people are beginning to report facts exposing the violent plots concocting in the District and its neighborhood.

It is now well known that military companies have been organized and drilled for months past in Maryland and Virginia—some of them under the eye of an officer of the regular army—and that the distinct object of their organization is to aid in the seizure of Washington city in the interest of the Disunionists, or the prevention by force of Lincoln's inauguration.

From The Herald.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2.

The whole South, it is said, have united upon Mr. Crittenden's proposition, which is the same as presented by him to the Senate Committee of Thirteen, with Mr. Douglas's free negro clause, not allowing them to vote or hold office. If the Republicans will accept this, a settlement can be had in twenty-four hours. He says if they do not accept it his fortunes are with the South. The Republicans assert positively that they will not accept it. Mr. Seward, it is said, is preparing a proposition, which his friends say will be acceptable to the South. What it is has not yet leaked out. The position assumed by Mr. Greeley, and many other Republican papers in the North, it is thought, will preclude the possibility of a proper and satisfactory adjustment. Many Republicans who are anxious for a settlement are afraid of encountering the anathemas of the rabid Black Republican press of the North.

PARKER PILLSBURY IN SALEM, OHIO.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WHILE you of the cities are convulsed with panic, and strong men tremble at the gathering tempest in the political sky, we, of the interior, share deeply in the same excitement; though we are doubtless able, from our position, better to preserve our equilibrium, and to look the impending crisis fairly in the face.

The most intense interest evidently pervades all classes in the community. In our town, the simple announcement that Mr. Pillsbury would speak last Sunday evening on "The Aspect of the Times," filled our public hall to overflowing at an early hour. And these people, the majority of them, are not those who attend our anniversaries; they never had any sympathy with our ultra views, but they felt that an evil day had come, and that to-morrow might be a day of blood; and they were happy to listen to one who, as with anointed eyes, had seen the danger when it was afar off—to one who had given the best part of his life to the overthrow of that despotism at whose inevitable retribution the multitudes shriek and stand aghast at the present hour.

It takes a great man to handle a great subject. The speaker's ability called the audience together, and the breathless silence, the deep feeling, the hearty applause that alternately prevailed, showed that they were more than satisfied with his masterly effort. Every heart appeared to yield to the majesty of his thought, and then again to swell with diverse emotions at his bidding. I have heard Mr. Pillsbury very often, and on great occasions, but I never knew him to rise so often into the grand and sublime. It seemed as if the whole moral artillery of the world was at his service, and he judiciously selected and used that which the exigencies of the times demanded.

I will not attempt a report of his speech; I could do no justice to his rhetoric. In principle and in policy he showed that he remained firmly planted where he has stood for a quarter of a century. Whether our ship of State were saved or lost, we were to do right. "One, in the right, with God, is a majority." J. E. J.

Salem, Dec. 25, 1860.

ANTI-SLAVERY DISCOURSE.—The Discourse lately delivered by the Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, in review of the sermon of the Rev. H. J. Van Dyke on "The Character and Influence of Abolitionism," will be repeated, by special request, on Sunday evening next, in the Church of the Puritans on Union Square. As hundreds were unable to gain admittance to the Church at the first delivery of the discourse in Twenty-third street, we presume there will be a crowd to hear it at this more central point. The pro-slavery party affect to regard Mr. Van Dyke's sermon as unanswerable, and they are giving it the widest possible circulation; but they will find occasion, before the discussion is ended, to remember the words of Scripture: "Let not him that putteth on the harness boast himself as he that putteth it off." "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh afterward and searcheth him." Those who wish to see Mr. Van Dyke "searched" through and through should not fail to hear Mr. Sloane, whose powers of eloquence and argument are by no means inferior to those of his antagonist.

THE FOLLY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard:

THE manifestoes emanating from the wisdom of South Carolina escape analysis. They might be dated as well from a Convention in the Asylum in Flatbush, as from the Convention in Charleston.

South Carolina prophesies her future national grandeur, and this with about 300,000 white population—no more than the population of a suburb of any large city, and by far inferior to any suburbans in culture and civilization. And that quantity and quality is to assure to South Carolina her place among the great nations of the globe! *Risum teneatis?* Generally, all the Secessionists throughout the South, and their toadies and flunkeys in the North, forebode great destinies for the eventual slave Confederacy.

The laws of history and of progress are as absolute, as unshaken as all other laws of nature—as laws to which the whole universe is submitted. Southern Confederacy will not reverse these laws. Great destinies of nations never were worked out in barbarism, and progress consists in issuing to light from barbarism, darkness and ignorance. Such is the absolute law of progress. History, the experience and the sacred belief of humanity, established as a law that slavery is the negation of civilization and morality; and slavery is the *credo*, the Alpha and Omega of the—to be—Southern Confederacy. This most atrocious barbarism never was, never can, and never will be the sign under which nations—not pirates, as were the ancient Kylikian ones—march onward and unfurl their destinies.

GUROWSKI.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at her residence in Mount Holly, N. J., on Saturday, the 29th ult., RUTH B. CHASE, in the 82d year of her age, widow of Borden Chase of Philadelphia. She was a true and firm friend of the slave, a constant reader of THE STANDARD, and did what her feeble health permitted to promote the anti-slavery cause, yearly sending her contributions of needle-work to the Fair.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary.

JANUARY, 1861.

WHEN the claim for Universal Liberty was first made in our country, the best part of a lifetime ago, the work lay wholly in futurity. The idea and the principles of Human Rights were to be replanted, the justice and necessity of their cause as against slavery to be proved, the prevailing apathy to be broken, the public mind to be awakened and enkindled, the insufficiency of a Church and State controlled by slavery to compass freedom to be demonstrated, the retrogression of the land towards barbarism under their sway to be made manifest, and freedom of speech, of the press, and of a new specific association to be claimed and exercised as the only sufficient instrumentalities of progress.

This is the initiatory work that has been done, and by it abundant opportunities of direct action have been rendered practicable. The WORK ITSELF, in a thousand shapes, now lies before us, whose privilege it has been to make ready for it. The despotism is driven into open day. To meet it, requires devotion, industry, and the sacred fire of a true enthusiasm. It requires energy, cooperation and the discipline of self-control. It requires generous contributions of money. We trust that all these indispensable requisites are now, as ever, ready.

We earnestly and cordially entreat all who love our native land in sincerity, whether Europeans or Americans, to unite with us more numerously and more generously than ever to meet the demands of a period of crises unparalleled in the history of our country—new, indeed, in the history of the world. For when before has it ever happened that Freedom has been sought from among a dominant people for a down-trodden one, on so grand a scale as this? We ask aid of Europeans, while we bid them observe that their freedom makes progress only in exact proportion as our slavery is brought into discredit. We ask aid of Americans; for where is the American to whom this cause of ours is not the supreme interest of the present hour as affording the only hope of Futurity? The work before us is ever that primary one contemplated by no other existing body, political or religious: the work that Church and Government are always tempted by the necessities of their position as such to neglect, adjourn, suppress. And the stronger the desire of their members to promote the cause, the stronger the temptation, being so placed, to temporise and to compromise.

To all these we confidently appeal for aid in the work they can neither do, nor do without.

We cordially invite all who love Liberty the world over, to meet us at the Music Hall, Boston, in the month of January next, in person or by letter, uniting their sympathies and contributions with ours in the great work of the time—the peaceful extinction of American slavery.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	LYDIA D. PARKER,
MARY MAY,	ELIZA F. EDDY,
LOUISA LORING,	SARAH P. REMOND,
L. MARIA CHILD,	ABBY FRANCIS,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,	SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,	ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,	SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,	EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,	ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,	AUGUSTA G. KING,
CAROLINE WESTON,	ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,
MARY WILLEY,	ANNA SHAW GREENE,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,	ELIZA APTHORP,
SUSAN C. CABOT,	MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
SARAH P. ATKINSON,	MATTIE GRIFFITH,
ELIZA ANDREW,	ANNE LANGDON ALGER,

MARY E. STEARNS.

Summary.

INDICTED FOR OBSTRUCTING THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.—The "Rev." George Gordon, James Hammond, Ashbury Parker, Calvin Rowland, Joseph T. Baldwin, E. D. Ashbury, and Jonathan McLarew have been indicted by the Grand Jury of the United States Circuit Court of Northern Ohio, for obstructing the United States Marshal and his deputies, at Iberia, Monroe County, on the 20th of September last, in their efforts to secure, by legal process, a fugitive slave. The same parties are also indicted for assaulting the owners of the negro and their assistants, with a view to prevent the reclamation of the slave, under the Fugitive Slave law.

NORTHERN INFORMERS.—A letter from Brunswick, Me., says: "The Bark John Curtis, Alexander master, owned in this place, recently arrived in the port of Charleston, S. C. The owners here, last week received a letter from the captain, saying that he had engaged a freight, but, to his surprise, had been waited upon, and a letter read to him from Brunswick, saying that a majority of the owners were Republicans, and two of them prominent members of the Legislature, and that nothing would bring them to their senses but 'spotting' their vessel. After the reading of this missive, the captain was informed that his freight was withdrawn. Colonel Thompson, one of the owners, and a true-blue Democrat, immediately started for Charleston."

DECEASE OF AN OLD SERVANT OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.—Coroner Jackman held an inquest, a few days ago, on the body of Hannah Carroll, aged 96 years, who died suddenly of apoplexy at her residence, No. 59 Tompkins street. The deceased, it is said, was once a cook in the family of General Washington, and used frequently to talk about him. She boasted of her acquaintance with many wealthy Southern families, and every summer made regular pilgrimages to the different hotels, to call upon such as might be in the city. For twenty years past, she has been residing with a very poor family named Williams, at the above number, and has been supported by contributions received from different persons who knew her history.

SOUTH CAROLINA FIGURES.—The receipts into the South Carolina Custom House, at the highest average, have been about $150,000 per annum. The average expenses have been over $70,000, leaving an excess in favor of the United States of about $80,000 a year. This is all the money advantage that the general government has derived from the State. But the accounts of the Post Office showed, in 1858, in this shape:

Receipts.....$101,145 | Expenditures.....$284,600

Thus, the cost of the Post Office more than eats up all the revenues derived from customs. It is a poor State in everything except a wonderful capacity to make a bluster and noise.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—Senator Wilson, on the 24th ult., introduced in the U. S. Senate a bill for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade. It makes the fitting out of slavers, like the sailing of them, piracy; and to facilitate the conviction of slave piracy on land and sea, by changing the penalty from death to imprisonment for life. It makes the display of the American flag as a badge of nationality by a not legally registered American ship, felony, the penalty of which shall be the imprisonment of the crew and the forfeiture of the vessel. It releases naval officers from any legal responsibility for the capture of suspected slavers, and which are not proved to be slavers in the courts. It enlarges the powers, and increases the duties, of judicial officers of the United States, in the examination of ships intended to sail for ports in Africa, and in the arrest and examination of colored persons imported in violation of the laws of the country.

THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE OF MARYLAND.—The last Legislature of Maryland passed a law—which was referred to a vote of the people for adoption or rejection—requiring, amongst other oppressive regulations, the free colored people of the State to hire themselves for not less than a year, to white persons, under penalty of being sold into perpetual slavery.

It is to the credit of Maryland, and a fact to be recorded with much satisfaction, that the law received little countenance on the day of the Presidential election, being rejected by a large majority. The following are the returns:

	For,	Against,
Charles County	328	471
Queen Anne's County	" 125	" 1,467
Baltimore County	" 681	" 5,354
Howard County	" 55	" 1,307
Calvert County	" 275	" 761
St. Mary County	" 435	" 816
Kent County	" 74	" 1,502
Worcester County	" 842	" 1,217
Somerset County	" 1,486	" 804
	4,301	13,789

Majority against the law, 9,488.

SLAVERY IN NEBRASKA.—A letter to the Northampton (Mass.) *Free Press*, dated Omaha, Nebraska, Dec. 14th, says: "The Legislature, after alluding to the fact that the Territorial Legislature was in session in that place, says: 'The House has passed a bill to prohibit slavery in Nebraska. It will undoubtedly pass the Council, and then receive the veto of our Democratic Governor, but probably it will be carried over his head by a two-thirds vote, and become a law in spite of him. The Democrats have said that slavery cannot exist in this Territory; but only a few days since an old negro man was sold on the auction block at Nebraska city, under an attachment issued by the District Court, to satisfy a debt incurred by his owner, Judge Holly, who is now at the mines in Western Kansas. The old man was torn from his aged wife and taken into Missouri, to be again sold and taken off to some Southern plantation.'"

FLAX COTTON AGAINST KING COTTON.—A private letter from Boston, thus speaks of the recent invention for "flaxing out" King Cotton: "There are now in operation, in this city, experimental works for the manufacture of flax fibre

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

WHAT THE YOUNG MAN SAYS.

STANDING on the lofty summit
At the entrance of life's way,
With the sunshine all around me,
Turning darkness into day,

I can see the distant hill-tops
Glowing brightly in the sun,
Where I hope to rest forever,
When the work of life is done.

But a dark and misty valley
Lies between me and that hill;
Only by a faithful compass
Can I all my hope fulfil.

Men will tell me, in the valley,
When I'm travelling on my way,
That green meadows and gay pleasures
Will reward me if I stay.

And deep rivers, rolling swiftly,
Cross the path that I must tread;
And, at times, the tempest swelling
Will sweep wildly overhead.

Hope and patience, perseverance,
Strong resolve, must conquer all,
Bear me safely through the valley,
And support me lest I fall.

In the valley many stumble,
Many falter, good men say,
And, departing from the straight path,
In the darkness lose their way.

I must keep my feet from slipping,
While I'm on the hither shore
Of that dark and dangerous river,
Which, men say, I must pass o'er.

If I falter when I'm passing
O'er the shallows and quicksands,
I shall never, never enter
Those far distant, happy lands.

When I've passed through this dark river,
And have reached the further shore,
I shall find the way made easy,
All my troubles will be o'er.

Brookline, Mass. J. H. M.

SEA SHELLS.

WE propose to gossip upon no subject of learned disquisition; upon no highly sounding classifications of malacology, conchology, and other ologies of the naturalist; not of the food which the inhabitants of shells furnish to man, nor on the mode in which the shell-fishes build the houses which they inhabit; but on some of the manifold and remarkable uses to which the ingenuity of artisans and others has enabled them to apply the shells picked up on sea-margins and river-beaches.

And, first, if beauty is a "use"—if it be useful to us to have beautiful objects to look at, then do shells indeed offer charming gifts from nature to man. The rude tribes set the example here, and civilized nations follow.

The *chank* volute shells of India are sliced up with circular saws and other cutting instruments, and made into bangles, armlets, bracelets, anklets, finger-rings, toe-rings, and other personal ornaments much coveted by the natives. Some of these slices are richly carved, gilt, and otherwise decorated. There is a very large consumption of these shells in India; because it is customary among the Hindoos to throw into the Ganges, or some other holy river, the shell ornaments which have belonged to a person deceased—as an offering, possibly, to some of their deities, or to avoid the chance of the ornaments being worn by persons of lower caste. There is a profitable fishery for chank shells all round the coast; and experienced divers bring them up from two or three fathoms depth of water. Ceylon alone yields three or four millions of them in a year, valued at £10,000, which mostly find a market at Calcutta. A very fine specimen will fetch its weight in gold. The volute shells, of which the chank is one variety, afford a curious illustration of the value which men place upon *uniques*—that is, articles prized, not because they are beautiful or valuable, but because there are few of them; the curls or twists of the volute generally turn to the left, but when they turn to the right, a higher price is demanded, and given, because of the rarity. Connoisseurs in old pictures, old books, old china, old articles of *certu*, will readily believe this, for they understand this kind of craving. Concerning head-dresses, neck ornaments, etc., made of shells, every one knows how largely these are to be met with in the islands and semi-barbarous countries of southern regions. But it was not until the Great Exhibition of 1851 that we had the means of knowing how exquisitely this kind of work is done at the Bahamas; ornaments were there exhibited, in which it was difficult to know whether most to admire the graceful forms, the brilliant colors, or the tasteful grouping of the shells.

Of *pearls*, what need we say? All the world knows them, and all who know them, admire them. The best pearl-oysters are found off the coast of Ceylon; the next, in the Persian Gulf; and inferior kinds in the Pacific, and the West Indies. There are a few occasionally met with in Scotland and Ireland. The Tay and the Ythan are the Scottish rivers most highly reputed for the pearl fishery; and it is constantly affirmed by tradition, that the large pearl in front of the Scottish crown was obtained in the latter river. Attempts are being made to *cultivate* pearls in Bavaria, by treating the oysters to a particular food, and subjecting them to careful treatment; but we are not aware that any success has yet attended this curious project. The produce of the pearl fishery in Ceylon sometimes amounts to £40,000 per annum. It has much of the uncertainty of a lottery in it; only a few shells contain any pearls; the number in each may be only one, or may amount to a hundred; and the quality varies greatly. The bad pearls are dissolved or ground up, and used as medicines by some of the natives; the good specimens are sent to market; the Persian Gulf pearl fishery employs 30,000 men and 3,000 boats, and constitutes the chief source of revenue of the imaum of Muscat. Some of the small inferior pearls are scarcely worth preserving; while such a one as that which belongs to the wealthy Mr. Hope, and which is nearly as large as an egg, is worth—anything that a millionaire is willing to give for it; for such rarities have no fixed market value.

Besides shells and pearls *au naturel*, there is a kind of fine art depending on a particular use of shells. We speak of *shell cameos*. This branch of art has lately sprung up into much importance. The shells fitted for it are hard and dense in texture, and consist of two or three layers of different tints. By cutting away several portions of the upper layer, and carving or engraving the rest, a cameo may be produced in relievo on a ground of a different color. The varieties are numerous. The purple *volute* shell may be worked down from a brown surface to a dark yellow substratum, or from a dark yellow surface to a white; *cowry* shells will often work down from a white to a violet; some shells will work down from a beautiful mother-of-pearl surface to a colored opaque substratum. The shell mosaic workers of France, who chiefly carry on this branch of art, employ *helmet* shells, *bull's mouth* shells, *stromb* shells, *conch* shells, and many other kinds. Some of the most favorite combinations are, white upon dark grounds, pale salmon on orange, and yellow on pink. Such cameos are now made in France to the value of £40,000 or £50,000 annually.

While speaking of shells in connection with fine art, it may be well to observe that the exquisite forms of some of those natural products have not escaped attention, regarded as models or patterns for man to imitate. Professor Simmonds, to whose published lecture on shells we are indebted for much curious information, says: "From the extreme diversity and elegance of their forms, shells are deserving the attentive study of the decorator and designer. Beautiful designs have, it is true, been copied from the univalve testaceæ; and as ornaments for stucco-work, cornices, centre-pieces for ceilings, elegant curvatures, etc., for chimney-pieces, they have been much admired. But there is a wide field laid open to the intelligent and thoughtful architect, builder, and designer, in the varied and elegant forms of the molluscæ, whether of land or sea, fluvial, oceanic, or fossil. In this scarcely touched field, the ingenious draughtsman, the clever artist, and the educated workman, may cull numberless elegant forms and groups for-ornamentation, whether it be in stone or compo, wood or metal, for exterior or interior building adornment. Let the workman seek among the finny tribes and shelly wonders of the great deep for subjects to aid his decorative designs." After mentioning certain publications on shells and shell-fish, Professor Simmonds proceeds: "Glancing over the plates and figures, he will not fail to observe various symmetrical systems of form and combination, and to glean new ideas of beauty and general arrangement from the fanciful but chastely elegant whorls, spires, curves, and convolutions of shells. "The hand that made them is divine;" and there is beauty, order, and-symmetry in all their parts. The cones, the volutes, the trochis, the scallops, the ammonites, the pyramids, the clams, the nautilus, and a hundred others, will afford him hints and suggestions for arrangement and grouping of forms of bordering, cantering, cornicing, arching, and ornamentation generally, which he would seek in vain elsewhere. Either isolated or in combination, some of their elegance of form, beauty of arrangement, and regularity of radiation, may be made use of. If painters, sculptors, and artists can so readily avail themselves of all the beauties for which shells are characterized, the architect, builder, and decorator should certainly not overlook the ideas their forms may suggest." As this *Journal* passes into the hands of workmen and decorators, as well as other classes of society, we beg to recommend this suggestion to their careful consideration; it is sound, because it is founded on *natural* beauties, irrespective of the vagaries of fashion.

Certain parts of certain shells are used in the production of dyes, pigments, and inks. The *purpurea* yield a beautiful purple, which was well known to the ancients. There is a small vein or sac in the fish, containing only a few drops of liquor; but the color of this liquor is so intense, that it goes a great way as a dye-material. The tint of purple varies according as the fish has lived among mud, sea-weed or pebbles. Several kinds of *murex* yield various shades of purple and crimson. The sepia or cuttle-fish gives out a fluid of intense blackness, which the ancients employed as ink. These uses of shells and fishes, for dye and pigment materials, were more common in early times than at the present day; the resources are now much extended in other and more easily available directions.

Pearls we have talked of, but not *mother-of-pearl*—a name which significantly tells of one particular theory concerning the origin of pearls, and constitutes an inside lining to many kinds of shells, chiefly of the oyster kind. The specimens are mostly bought up by dealers at Singapore and Manilla, and by them sold for use in Europe and other regions. So far as our own country is concerned, the consumption centres chiefly at Birmingham and Sheffield—the thicker specimens for the handles of knives and other articles, and the thin for buttons, counters, porte-monnaies, card-cases, ladies-work implements, spectacle-cases, and countless other purposes. The shells best suited for Sheffield use are six inches or more in diameter, and of considerable thickness. The "haft and scale makers" of that busy town are a distinct body of artisans and manufacturers, who have nothing to do with the steel of the cutlery instruments for which the handles are intended. The entire handle is with them a "haft," whereas the "scale" is the thin material which frequently covers the haft—mostly of some more costly material, such as mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, or ivory, than the substance beneath. The pearl-handle makers work at nothing else. They saw the shells into thin films or oblong pieces; and, in order to do this, they are obliged to keep the shell constantly wetted, as otherwise its extreme hardness would heat and blunt the saw. It is, like many others by which beautiful articles are produced, a dirty occupation; and the work-rooms are strongly imbued with the odor of fish. After sawing, the pieces are fashioned, ground, and polished into the requisite forms. At Birmingham, a very large quantity of mother-of-pearl is used, chiefly to inlay jappanned papier-maché ornaments; it is not, however, actually sunk into recesses cut to receive it, but is laid *on* the surface, the level being reproduced by copious varnishings and repeated polishings.

Mussel and *snail* shells often exhibit that phenomenon of differently colored layers, which gives rise to the production of the shell-mosaics already described. The *helmet* shell yields a material for the handles of umbrellas from its thick part; while the thinner portions are used as borderings and decorations for work-boxes, watch-stands, and other ornamental articles. Thin films of *oyster* shell, smoked in a particular way, are made into the greatcoat buttons so often affected by a certain class of "fast" men. Some shells are embossed or engraved on the surface with portraits, inscriptions, etc.; this is effected either mechanically by the aid of cutting instruments, or chemically by the corrosive action of certain acids. Large and coarse specimens receive the inscriptions of tombstones in some of our cemeteries. A few of the large and elegant forms of shell are made to serve as graceful receptacles for hanging plants in rooms and green-houses. Some varieties, such as the *butter* shell of New Zealand, on having a bluish outer layer ground away at certain parts, lay bare a splendid gold color beneath. The *clam* shell of the Eastern Archipelago is eagerly sought after for the uses it renders; a pair will sometimes weigh five or six hundred pounds; the fish, called in some places the "Dutchman's cockle," is eaten as a coarse but not unpalatable food. The shells are used whole in some Roman Catholic countries as receptacles for holy-water; more usually, however, they are cut up into arm-rings and other ornaments. Some of the specimens, perfectly white, admit of being polished like the finest marble. The clam anchors itself to rocks by a cable of its own making, so thick and strong that nothing less than a blow from an axe will sever it. The *byssus*, or silky fibre of the *pinna*—long, fine, lustrous and strong—is susceptible of being spun and wrought up like silk into gloves, stockings and other articles; it was much used by the ancients, and would be more used than it is by the moderns, were not the produce of the silk-worm so much more abundant. Small shells called *cowries*—clear, white and glossy—are used as money in some of the countries of Asia and Africa. They rise and fall in value, like other commodities, by variations in supply and demand; but a penny will usually exchange for nearly two hundred of them in India. So cheap are many articles of food in plentiful seasons in that country, that one single cowry is often the purchase-price for a small quantity of fruit or vegetable. It is said that there is a church in India, for the labor of which the workmen were paid wholly in cowry shells—more than thirty millions in number; how the necessity for this singular mode of payment arose does not appear. We import hundreds of tons of cowries annually, and resell them to Africans. It has been found that cowries may be converted into a glaze for earthenware and an enamel for clock-faces. We have already spoken of the *cuttle-fish*, which yields the intensely black fluid *sepia*. There is, besides this, a calcareous spongy bone or plate which strengthens the back of the fish, and which is employed by artists and workmen as a sort of sand-paper or emery-paper, for polishing varnish, paint, wood, and soft metal, and for making pounce. The *conch* shell, already mentioned in reference to other uses, with one end cut off, is often used as a horn or trumpet in some of the tropical countries. In sugar plantations, the signal for going to and from dinner is given to the slaves by a blast from such a trumpet, called the "shell blow." Various species of the *triton* shell may in like manner be used as horns or trumpets. The *ear shell* or *haliotis*, named on account of its partial resemblance in shape to the ear, has a beautiful iridescent surface, which causes it to be sought by Birmingham manufacturers as a material for inlaying or veneering, like mother of pearl. Some univalve shells are used as rustic lamps. Large scallop shells are often employed in skimming milk and slicing butter. Among nations not very far advanced in the useful arts, we find thin pellucid films of large oyster shells used as a substitute for glass, deeply hollowed shells used as cups and spoons; sharpened fragments used as razors and tweezers; pointed fragments, of whole shells of certain kinds, used as fish-hooks, harpoon-points, and arrow-points.

Shells, chiefly on account of the lime they contain, are often valuable both as a material for cement and as a fertilizer for the ground. Shell sand, the detritus of shells, has brought into a moderately fertile state many a sea-beach. Near Calcutta, there are immense stores of the *telebralia telescopium*, exposed in heaps to kill the fish by the heat of the sun's rays, preparatory to the grinding up of the shells for making lime. Some kinds of burnt shell make an almost imperishable cement when combined with lime and sand. Ground cockle and oyster shell make a good covering for gravel-walks. On the sea-board of America, there are large numbers of persons who gain a living by collecting shells for these and similar purposes.

Let us say a last word in favor of a sort of sea-scavenger—a fish which has usually rather a bad reputation, but which is, nevertheless, worthy of something like thanks from us. This fish is a species of mussel, the *Mytilus lithophagus*. It works much mischief on the hulls of ships, and on this account it is regarded by ship-owners as an enemy; yet a Westminster reviewer, quoted by Professor Simmonds, points out another action of this fish more than equivalent on the side of advantage. "Were the fragments of wrecks and masses of stray timber, that would choke harbors, and clog the waves, permitted to remain undestroyed, the loss of life and injury to property that would result would soon far exceed all the damage done and dangers caused by the teredo. This active shell-fish is one of the police of Neptune—a scavenger and cleanser of the sea. It attacks every stray mass of floating and sunken timber with which it comes in contact, and soon reduces it to harmlessness and dust. For one ship sunk by it, a hundred are really saved; and while we deprecate the mischief and distress of which it has been the unconscious cause, we are bound to acknowledge that, without its operation, there would be infinitely more treasure buried in the abysses of the deep, and more venturous mariners doomed to watery graves."—*Chambers's Journal.*

THE LAW OF GOD.—If the law of man command you to do a wicked thing, then it is no law to you. You are to break it without hesitation, and suffer the consequences, if it takes you to the lion's den. When another, nobler than you, was thrust into a den of lions for disobedience to an unrighteous decree, God sent his angel to shut the lions' mouths that they should not harm him. If it takes you to prison, God's angel brought forth Peter out of prison, when sent there for the very sake that you are sent there for. If it takes your life, the taking of a man's life, who dies for duty, is only another way in which God sends his angels to release him from the darkness and bondage of earth, into the glorious light and liberty of the heavenly state. When a man, therefore, is commanded by any government to do a wrong thing, he is to say, at once, "I cannot do it. Whether it is right in the sight of God, that I should obey you rather than God, judge ye."—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

A VISIT TO THE POPE.

[The Rev. W. James, in a very interesting letter to the London *Christian Reformer* of December, on his recent visit to the Continent, gives the following account of his interview with the Pope:]

BEFORE I left Bristol I obtained from a Roman Catholic clergyman there a letter of introduction to Monsignor Talbot, who resides at the Vatican, and has some high official employment near the Pope's person. He has been most obliging in his attentions to me, and of great assistance in many ways. Through him I had an audience of the Pope, for which last Wednesday was appointed. I was allowed to take with me Mr. Gangooly and my other young travelling companion, and we went very quietly to the palace in the morning at eleven o'clock. There we saw cardinals in their snowy robes, and ministers of state and others, as they passed in and out, to and from the presence of the Pontiff. An hour had elapsed before I was summoned. I had previously ascertained that, as Protestants, there would be no special marks of reverence required from us on this occasion, and we paid the same token of respect which we should have done had we attended the Court at home. We found the Pope seated at a table in the plain white ecclesiastical dress which he always wears in private, and with a calm and benignant countenance, expressive of amiability and gentleness, rather than force of character or mental vigor. He seemed to me a man about seventy years of age, and his features have not on them the traces of care and anxiety which I expected would be visible, from all he has had to do and to bear. Nothing could exceed the kindliness of manner with which he received me. There was not the slightest exhibition of haughtiness or coldness in word or action. He spoke naturally of what arose out of the circumstances in which we stood before him. I had been introcuced as a Socinian minister from Bristol. And I ventured to say that this was a mistake; that I was not a follower of Socinus, not agreeing with him in some of his religious conclusions; that I belonged to a Church which refused to be called by the name of any man, however accomplished and excellent, and that I was a *Unitarian Christian*. Hearing this, the Pope reminded me that Socinus was an Italian, and then asked me if I knew anything of the history and writings of Ochinus, who was also an Italian, of the Capuchin order, but renounced the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and became an Anti-trinitarian. I replied that I was familiar with the life and the Anti-trinitarian opinions of this singularly giften man, and with his fame as a pulpit orator, and that he had likewise exercised his functions as a preacher in England. I might have told him that Ochinus sought a refuge from persecution there, and that he would probably have spent the remainder of his life in my native country, but for the death of the young King Edward, and the sad change which took place with the accession of Mary and the reëstablishment of Romish doctrines. But this, of course, would have been rude and improper, and nothing further was said on the subject. The Pope then turned to the Brahmin, and was informed that he was soon going to Calcutta as a Christian missionary to his native Hindoos, having renounced heathenism and embraced Unitarian views of the Gospel. He did not forget the English youth who was with me, and was told that he was of the Independent denomination. This led him to make some remarks on the diversity of thought and speculation which prevailed in the world on the subject of religion. And turning to me, he remarked, "My daily prayer is, that amid the divisions and controversies of Christendom, all may be brought to know the truth and to do it." Of course I felt that "the truth," as he understood it, must be the system of which he is the head and representative. But his words brought to my mind the prayer of Jesus: "Sanctify them by thy truth; *thy word is truth*"; and I said to the Pope that *his* petition was *mine* also, and that it was one in which all good Christians must cordially unite.

Thus ended an interview with a man whose name is now prominently before the world in connection with the mighty revolution which is taking place in Italy, and whose temporal rule seems destined soon to be brought to an end—a consummation which is indeed to be greatly desired, not only for his own sake, but on account of the interests of freedom and humanity. Whatever may be the issue of the conflict, I shall always look back with pleasure on this visit to the palace of the Vatican, and feel that it was a gracious act in one occupying the high position of the Pope, and burdened with so many and such weighty cares and responsibilities, to receive a Unitarian minister, who had no claim upon his time or notice, in such a manner.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE REFORMER.

NO. I.

REFORMERS ne'er grow popular: men grow,
And reach the ground which has been bravely cleared:
(And by this sign their hearts are braced and cheered:)
But they remain not there; onward they go,
Through fiery fagot or through craggy snow,
Onward and upward, till their haven is neared.
Thus have all temples of pure truth been reared—
By men of sorrows, well acquaint with woe.
And thus the world grows large; by the large men
God sends as pioneers his work to do:
Grand vistas open to their raptured view;
We wonder, then admire—some follow, then.
Are they not now a great celestial host?
But, oh! bethink! great by what earthly cost!

THE RECOMPENSE.

NO. II.

Yet as the heaven is high, while earth is low,
Is there not compensation, even here?
In their soul-atmosphere 'tis often clear,
When mists and clouds are left to realms below.
To weep themselves away, through rain or snow,
Or rise in sunny rays, when bows appear—
Typic of old, and to the fancy dear;
Evangelists of Peace so long ago.
Yes, Peace must be! Man, God-like, was not made
To grovel in the dark of wrong and crime
Through all the ages of the coming time!
Wherefore of light is he then so afraid?
The child fears darkness, oft: to manhood grown,
Why shut his eyes and fear to stand alone?

Milney, Aug. 22, 1860. A. P. C.

A GLORIOUS TIME TO LIVE.

IT is a period of the world when men should take courage and be glad. I thank God every morning and every night, and ten thousand times a day, that he permitted me to be born in such an age as this. Now, a man lives a year in a day. Now, men are not living in January, in mid-winter, in a frozen ground where the roots can suck no juice, where no leaves are playing in the wind! We are living in the month of May, when winter is gone, when the snows no longer cover deeply the earth, and when birds are singing in the air. There are storms, to be sure, but, after every thunder-storm, the leaves play, the roots grow, and ten thousand influences are operating to bring summer. Let us, then, be patient. Let us be hopeful. Let us have faith in God. He is very near to us: we know it by the wrath of the devil; we know it by the way evil men cry out, saying, "Art thou come to torment us before our time?" we know it because some are cast down and are made to wallow, that the devil may be driven out of them. Let him go; but let them arise, clothed, and in their right mind, and be found sitting at the feet of Jesus.

Brethren, what do you want? Torpor? listless indifference? the quietness of men that preludes spiritual death? or times when there is such a sensibility of conscience, such a rousing of universal attention, when the hearts of men are waked up by the presence and power of God, until men feel that life is earnest, and realize that there is tremendous sweep and importance in moral principles? Are not these times in which men ought to wish to live? What if, here and there, trade and property go down? Nothing goes down till manhood goes down; and nothing goes up that does not take manhood up. It is a painful thing to lose property, and it is a painful thing to be in disagreement with our fellows; but these are not the worst things that can befall a community, if they lead to nobler citizenship, a higher public spirit, a purer administration of affairs, and a more universal justice. Are not these the things for which we have been living? Have you not, many of you, been praying, "Thy kingdom come"? And when God's kingdom comes, crowns go down. The king said, "Thy will be done," and down went his throne. The aristocrat said it, and down went his aristocracy. The old inquisitor said it, and down went the Inquisition. They prayed, "Thy kingdom come," and God took them at their word, forth came the people, back shrunk their oppressors! They ran to hold the kingdom down, while yet they prayed, "Let it come." Tyrants would be infidels if they knew what the New Testament really means. When priests read it, they find much in it that God never put there. The Bible is like a noble mansion built for God's people. It has been wrested from them. It has been held by cunning priests and plotting despots. It is full of the slime of their wicked interpretations. Priests that believe God's Word to be a bulwark of oppression are jealous of its authority. They pray for its spread. They pray for that kingdom in which they are to be terrific kings and priests. But God sends them insurrections, revolutions, democracies, and free States. Francis II. prayed "Thy kingdom come," and God sent Garibaldi! The king did not want him! The Pope prayed "Thy will be done," and Victor Emanuel knocks at the gates of the Eternal City! The Emperor of Austria prays "Thy kingdom come," and Kossuth appears! Men project their own passions and selfish interests upon the coming future, think it to be the shape of God's kingdom, and then heartily pray for it! You are very glad of these things when they come to pass in other lands. You are very glad of the events which advance Poland and Hungary toward freedom. You are very glad of the struggles which lead to the emancipation of Italy. The names of Kossuth, and Garibaldi, and other great heroes of liberty, are precious to you. But what do you suppose Francis II. thinks of Garibaldi? Why, he is worse to him than Garrison is to you! You like these things afar off, or in the past, but you do not like them near by, or in the present. A great work of reformation is going on in our country, but our eyes are not adequate to understand the history of the age in which we live. We need to be enlightened by the Spirit of God, that we may be able to discriminate between our own selfish interests and noble moral sentiments.—*H. W. Beecher.*

TRANSPLANTED.

WHEN last I saw her, all cold and white
On her maiden bed extended,
It seemed to me that with the light
Of her life my own was ended.

It seemed to me that I could not bear
The burden of life without her;
To see the sunshine, to feel the air
That could never more play about her—

Lovingly play round her lovely head,
Giving fond and playful kisses,
Making the rose on her cheek more red,
Stirring her sun-gilt tresses.

I felt as though I could never bear
The ceaseless pain and pressure
Of endless days, when she might not share
One sorrow of mine, or pleasure.

Stark and pallid, cold she lay,
Not *she*—the soul-warmed woman—
But the dreadful frigid image of clay
That with her had nothing in common.

Among the flowers about the bier
I noted a large-eyed blossom,
That looked at me through a dewy tear,
As it lay on her lifeless bosom.

A large white daisy. I kissed its face,
In her cold dead hand I laid it,
And I bid it nevermore leave that place,
Though the breath of the grave should fade it.

I fancied that she would feel it there,
And that when she was in heaven,
She would send me a sign that the bond which here
So bound us should not be riven.

Perhaps a childish and wild belief;
But when in some hopeless sorrow
That rejects all thought of a common relief,
The heart is fain to borrow

From the realms of fancy some hope, some dream,
It may be some superstition,
That, however childish or wild, will seem
Like a real Heaven-sent vision.

And so with me. When the friendly night
O'er my sleepless pillow lingers,
Yon star, I think, is the daisy white
I placed in her lifeless fingers.

—*All the Year Round.*

THE NEWSBOYS OF NEW YORK.

WE have frequently spoken with warm commendation of the Children's Aid Society, which has been organized for the relief and redemption of this class of our city poor. One of its features is the Newsboys' Lodging House, in Fulton street, where cheap lodgings are provided, and evening meetings are held for the improvement of the boys. A sketch of an evening lately spent there may be of interest, and serve to illustrate the general influence of the Association in this department of its labors.

The room contained some sixty boys, seated on benches and stools. Around it were lockers, in which each boy could place his surplus clothing, if he had any. On the walls were hung encouraging mottoes, such as, "Cheer, boys, cheer"; "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy"; "Be content with such things as ye have"; and various Scriptural placarded sentences, encouraging to the virtuous and disheartening to the wicked; also engravings, and several colored pictures.

On an elevated platform were a matron, a melodeon, and a bank. The first named has charge of the devotional exercises of the boys, mends their clothes, and plays upon the second; while the third, as its name implies, is used as a receptacle for the surplus cash which the boys may be willing to save. It consists of an ordinary deal table, the top of which has a great number of slitted holes, through which, into boxes within, the depositors can drop the change. This plan is found to work admirably. No boy can take the money so deposited unless a majority of the lodgers vote in favor of "specie payment." One young lad has saved $150, another $100, and others in smaller sums, such as $50, $25, $10, and so on—sums which, though insignificant, possibly, to Mr. Astor, are of incalculable assistance to a boy who has no boots, coat, or cap.

A peep into the sleeping rooms satisfied us that the place was well denominated "lodging rooms." There is an upper and a lower room. The former is considered, in comparison with the latter, as a cheap restaurant is with the Metropolitan Hotel. In it seventy boys can be comfortably lodged; the beds are like berths, one above another, and provided in each case with comfortable and sufficient bedding. In it are lodged irregular boys, and those who, coming for the first time, may not be perfectly free from all the ills that dirty flesh is heir to; while the lower apartment is reserved for the cleanly, regular, and never-away boarders, who prefer the iron bedstead, the more lofty ceiling, and perfect security from vermin.

Adjoining these rooms are adequate bathing accommodations, in which, with hitherto unaccustomed joy, the boys delight to swash.

As we reëntered the room where the boys were seated, Mr. Brace announced that he and one or two others would make a few remarks, they could all have a sing, and then gratify their palates by some goodies which a kind friend had thoughtfully prepared for them. In his usual happy manner Mr. Brace spoke to them, familiarly teaching and pleasantly advising them, so that one and all were evidently pleased to hear him, and in no way considered him a bore. In fact, it requires a peculiar person to manage and talk to these boys. Bullet-headed, short-haired, bright-eyed, shirt-sleeved, go-a-head boys. Boys who sell papers, black boots, run on errands, hold horses, pitch pennies, sleep in barrels, and steal their bread. Boys who know at the age of twelve more than the children of ordinary men would have learned at twenty, who can cheat you out of your eye teeth, and are as smart as a steel trap. They will stand no fooling; they are accustomed to gammon, they live by it; and yet we could not fail to notice that the steady, earnest, faithful, year by year work of Mr. Brace in their behalf had so rooted him in their esteem, that let him say or do what he chose, he could not wrest from them the conviction that he loves them, and would cheerfully do anything in the world to aid them and ameliorate their condition. We pity the man, or body of men, who should in any way do bodily ill to Mr. Brace; he would find soon upon his heels a set of young avengers, from whose clutches he could not escape, and who would visit upon him chastisements most summary and severe. No audience that ever we saw could compare in attitudinizing with that one. Heads generally up; eyes full on the speaker; mouths, almost without an exception, closed tightly; hands in pockets; legs on the desks, or over a neighboring pair; no sleepers, all wide awake, keenly alive for a pun, a point, or a slangism. Winding up, Mr. Brace said, "Well, boys, I want my friends here to see that you have the material for talkers amongst yourselves; who do you choose for your orator?"

"Paddy, Paddy," shouted one and all. "Come out, Paddy. Why don't you show yourself?" and so on.

Presently Paddy came forward, and stood upon a stool. He is a youngster, not more than twelve, with a little round eye, a short nose, a lithe form, and chock full of fun.

"Bummers," said he, "snoozers and citizens, I've come down here among ye to talk to yer a little. Me and my friend Brace have come to see how ye'r gittin' along, and to advise yer. You fellers what stands at the shops with yer noses over the railin', smellin' ov the roast beef and the hash—you fellers who's got no home—think of it how we are to incourage ye (derisive laughter, 'ha-ha's,' and various ironical kinds of applause). I say, bummers—for you're *all* bummers—*so am I* (great laughter)—I hate to see you spendin' your money on penny ice creams. Why don't you save you money? You feller without no boots, how would like a new pair, eh? (Laughter from all the boys but the one addressed.) Well, I hope you may get 'em, but I rather think you won't. I have hopes for you all. I want you to grow up to be rich men—citizens, government men, lawyers, generals, and influence men. Well, boys, I'll tell you a story. My dad was a hard 'un. One beautiful day he went on a spree, and he come home and he told me, where's yer mother, and I axed him I didn't know, and he clipt me over the head with an iron pot, and knocked me down, and me mither drapped in on him, and at it they went (hi-hi's, and demonstrative applause). Ah! at it they went, and at it they kept—ye should have seen 'em—and wilst they were fightin' I slipped meself out the back door, and away I went like a scart dog (Oh, dry up! Bag your head! Simmer down!). Well, boys, I went on till I kim to the 'Home for the Friendless' (great laughter among the boys, who are rather down on that institution), and they took me in (renewed laughter), and did for me, without a cap to me head or shoes to me feet, and thin I ran away, and here I am. Now, boys (with mock solemnity), be good, mind yer manners, copy me, and see what you'll become."

At this point the boys raised such a storm of hifalutin applause, and indulged in such characteristic demonstrations of delight, that it was deemed best to stop the youthful Demosthenes, who jumped from his stool with a bound that would have done credit to a monkey, and was soon involved in a scrimmage with a big boy who believed all Paddy had said, with the exception of the "iron pot."

At this juncture huge pans of apples were brought in, and the boys were soon engaged in munching the delightful fruit, after which the matron gave out a hymn, and all joined in singing it, during which we took our leave.—*N. Y. Times.*

GARIBALDI'S ISLAND HOME.—The *Movimento* of Genoa relates the following curious anecdote: "When Garibaldi arrived at Caprera he was astonished to find the appearance of the island quite changed. Instead of the stony desert he had left, he saw before him well cultivated fields and beautiful plantations, with shady groves and spacious avenues. It looked as if a magician had been there and struck the island with his wand, bidding nature forthwith to lavish her treasures on this chosen spot. But the General was still further surprised when, instead of his humble cottage, an elegant villa stood before him, on entering which the mystery was soon explained, for, lo! on the walls of a fine large hall there hung the portrait of his friend Victor Emanuel, who had turned his absence to account in order to prepare this surprise for him." The small Island of Caprera, to which Garabaldi has retired, is situated on the northern coast of Sardinia, towards the eastern entrance of the Straits of Bonifacio, by the side of the Ile de Maddelana, and almost opposite the southern point of the Island of Corsica. It is somewhat less than six miles in length from north to south, and about two in breadth. It is very fertile in wheat, and derives its name from the number of goats which are bred there. Caprera must not be confounded with another island, called Caprara, Ægilion, or Capraria, which lies to the east of Cape Corse, to the northwest of Elba, and opposite Piombino. The latter, although rather smaller than the former, is, nevertheless, more important from its military and maritime position, from the safe port which it has on the east, and from its town and the fort which defends it. The surface is mountainous and volcanic. Grapes are grown, and the wild goats, which gave it its name, are still very numerous.

THE SWAGGERERS CAUGHT.—A few weeks ago, in France, a stout elderly gentleman got into a railway carriage to go to St. Germain; four officers in uniform were already seated. They were smoking. The elderly gentleman found a corner empty, and took it. Not liking the smoke, he lowered the window next to him. The officer opposite drew it up. A few minutes elapsed, the civilian let down the window a second time; a second time the amiable son of Mars drew it up. "Don't like the smoke, eh?" said another of these worthies in a jeering tone. "Well, you run some risk of being smoked here like a ham." The elderly gentleman looked at them steadily, and then, doubling his first, took a deliberate aim at the window glass and shattered it. The four officers were aflame. "Monsieur," blustered the former spokesman, "it is a duel you seek; here is my card!" "And mine!"—"And mine!"—"And mine!"—burst from the other three. "Volontiers," was the reply of the stout party in the corner, taking out his own card in turn—"and here is mine!" The four smokers bent forward to read their adversary's name. Oh, horror and consternation! it was M. Delangle, Minister of Justice. All the bluster was gone, all the swagger had deserted the "heroes"; and they were noisily eager in tendering their excuses; and the burden of all was—"If we could have guessed!" M. Delangle, however, gave these "gentlemen" a sharp reprimand, bringing to their knowledge the fact that, not having behaved decently to a fellow-traveller, whom they did not know, he meant to report them to the War-office. This he did, and the poor offenders came in for a fortnight's arrest.

THE CONVENIENCE OF SLAVERY.—We have found a race who were less warlike, and less energetic shop-keepers than we; who have very little skill in trade. We found it very convenient to keep them at work, since, by the aid of a little whipping, we could get their work for nothing but their board and the cost of whips. What if it cost a few unpleasant scenes on the coast of Africa? That was a great way off; and the scenes could be endured by some sturdy, unscrupulous fellows, who could go for high wages and bring us the men, and need not trouble our ears with the disagreeable particulars. If any mention was made of homicide, madness, adultery, and intolerable tortures, we would let the church bells ring louder, the church organ swell its peal, and drown the hideous sound. The sugar they raised was excellent; nobody tasted blood in it. The coffee was fragrant; the tobacco was incense; the brandy made nations happy; the cotton clothed the world. What! all raised by these men, and no wages? Excellent! What a convenience! They seemed created by Providence to bear the heat and whipping, and make these fine articles.—*Emerson.*

Philadelphia Advertisements.

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